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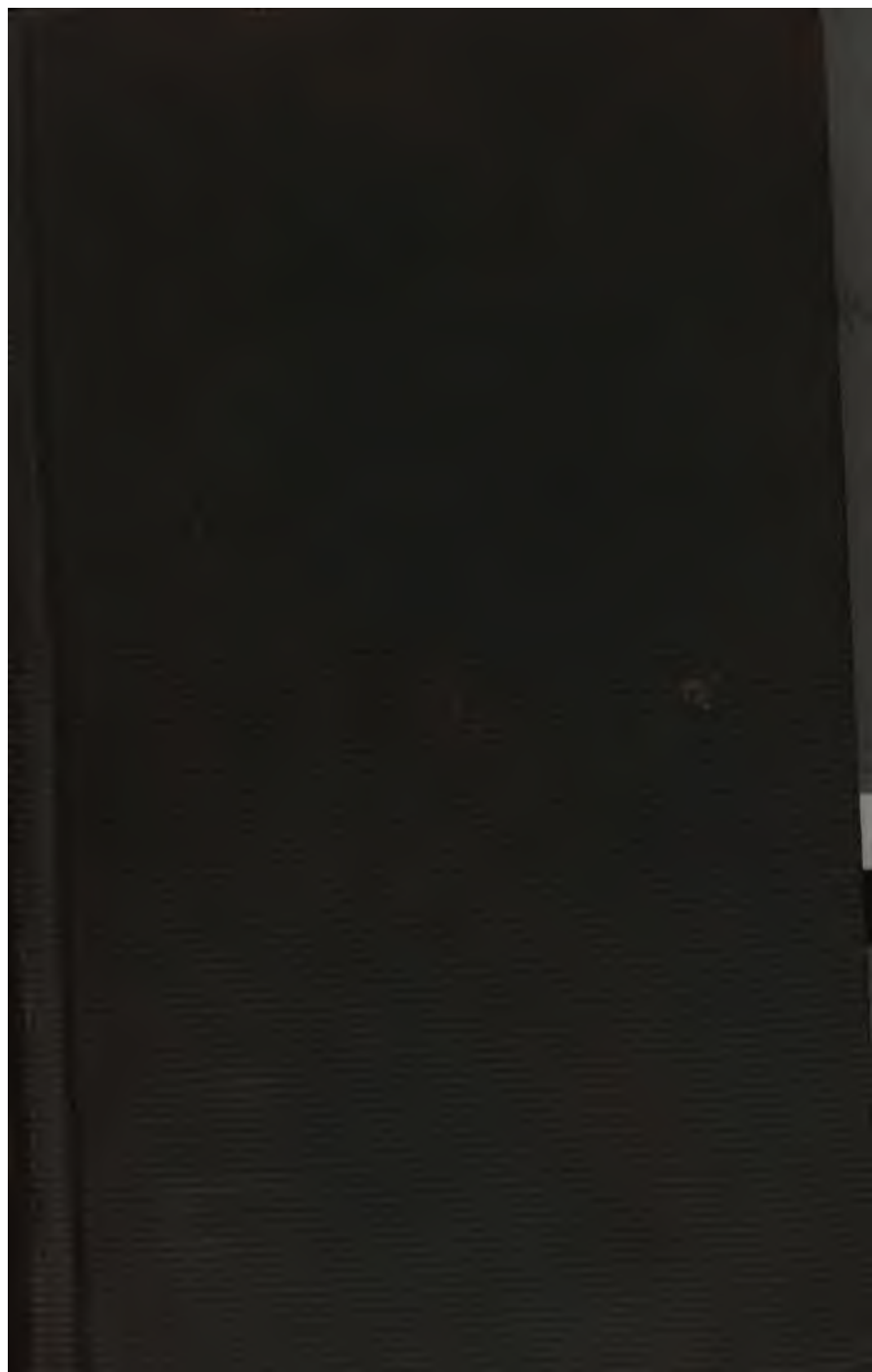
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THE LIFE
OF
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,

INCLUDING A SKETCH OF

**THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE WAR
OF INDEPENDENCE,**

AND OF

THE VARIOUS NEGOCIATIONS AT PARIS FOR PEACE;

WITH THE HISTORY OF

HIS POLITICAL AND OTHER WRITINGS.

LONDON:—1826.

**PRINTED FOR HUNT AND CLARKE,
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THE LIFE

OF

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

CHAPTER I.

Importance of his life and character.—Family history.—Early destination and apprenticeship.—Absconds, and arrives at Philadelphia.

THE lives of great and useful men have been compared to the course of rivers. They often rise in the most obscure and desolate regions; a child might leap over their sources; and thorns and briars alone appear destined to obey their unregarded progress:

But silently that alighted thing
Shall demonstrate its living spring.

The stream widens and deepens; it becomes the pride of the meadows, and the fertilizer of extensive districts; it arrives within the sweep of tides and the bustle of commerce; conveys prosperity to towns and cities; bears on its bosom the hopes and fortunes of millions, and at length reaches the ocean, the health and hope of a country.

The life of BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, which extends through nearly the whole of the eighteenth century, realized this ancient metaphor in a most remarkable degree. He was at once the humble mechanic, the yet humbler son of a tallow-chandler whose business he hated, and the artificer of his country's independence. He was an oppressed apprentice in the obscure and dingy press-room of a provincial town, and one of the most formidable opponents of

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British cabinet measures, and of the whole strength of Britain wielded for indefensible purposes. He had few advantages of education, yet mingled, finally, with the most learned and most polite society in Europe. Inheriting no patrimony but that of a persecuted and honest name, he left to his posterity a handsome fortune realized by his own industry, and claims upon his country's gratitude never fully to be repaid.

Whether considered as a successful tradesman, an experimental philosopher, or a distinguished statesman, his history is full of interesting and important points: we possess, happily, ample details of it, some of the most interesting of them furnished by himself. Let the humblest reader of these pages therefore enter upon them with the assurance of their being calculated to give hope to poverty; to brace the sinews of all industrious men with new energy and perseverance; and to shed the light of contentment and the blessings of temperance, frugality, and peace, on the most humble human lot.

Franklin's name and family history are to be traced to an early period:—to that period, perhaps, when his name expressed the freedom and independence for which he so conspicuously and so successfully contended*. He became naturally curious, in his prosperity, respecting the early details of his family history; and found that his ancestors were settled at Ecton in Northamptonshire, for three centuries, on a freehold of their own, of about thirty acres. In the parish books of that place he traced, while in England, registers of the marriages and deaths of the family as far back as the books extended (1555). He learnt that, from time immemorial, the eldest son had been brought up a smith, a business which his own elder brother followed.

* Dr. Johnson calls a franklin; a "*little gentleman*," but Chaucer and Spenser clearly had more dignified conceptions of his rank in society. Of his country gentleman the former says,

This worthy FRANKLIN bore a purse of silk,
Fixed to his girdle, white as morning milk;
Knight of the Shire, first Justice of the Assise,
To help the poor, the doubtful to advise.

Dr Franklin also found that he was himself the youngest son of the youngest son for five succeeding generations.

His grandfather, Thomas Franklin, born in 1598, left the paternal village in the decline of life, and enjoyed a tolerable competence in the house of his son John, a dyer, at Banbury in Oxfordshire. His sons were Thomas, John, and Benjamin, who all reached man's estate; but the male line failing in the eldest branch, Elizabeth, the only daughter of Thomas Franklin, became seised of the land; and her husband, ——— Fisher, of Wellingborough, near Ecton, sold it to the lord of the manor, a Mr Isted.

This Thomas Franklin possessed much of the inquisitive and enterprising spirit of his distinguished grandson. Bred a smith, he resigned his business, studied for the bar, and became a man of considerable consequence in his neighbourhood. "Had he died," said governor Franklin, "four years later than he did, one might have believed in a transmigration."

John, the next brother, was a dyer in wool; and the third, named Benjamin, was bred a silk-dyer in London, where he accumulated property, and became, in his way, literary and poetical. He retired finally to the house of Dr Franklin's father at Boston in America, where he died in a good old age. His bookish propensities were connected, as we shall see, with those of the greater Benjamin, his nephew.

The family had become Protestants in the dawn of the Reformation. Dr Franklin's godfather and uncle, Benjamin, used to relate an anecdote which supplies a striking picture of the times. They had an English Bible (in queen Mary's reign) which, to conceal and place in safety, they fastened open, with tapes across the leaves, under the cover of a joint-stool. When Franklin's great-grandfather used to read it to his family, he placed the joint-stool on his knees, and then turned over the leaves under the tapes. One of the children stood at the door, to give notice of the

approach of the proctor, an officer of the spiritual court, if he saw him coming. In that case, the stool was turned down again on its feet, and the Bible remained concealed as before.

Persecution therefore did not deter them from their Protestantism; nor, when its unhallowed weapons were assumed by Protestants themselves, did it deter the younger branch of the family from non-conformity. In the latter part of Charles the Second's reign, Benjamin and Joseph Franklin both declared for the dissenting interests; and the younger brother, having married early, and finding a family coming quickly, was prevailed upon, in 1682, to emigrate to America. Accompanying a party of friends, he at first tried amongst them his business of a dyer, but this failing, became a soap-boiler and tallow-chandler. Here he had four more children, in all seven, by his first wife, and ten by a second; thirteen of whom lived to years of maturity, and were married. Dr Franklin well remembered, as he tells us, to have seen the whole of this numerous group round the family board.

The subject of our memoir was born at Boston in New England, January 17, 1706. His mother, whom he characterizes as pious and prudent, discreet and virtuous *, was the daughter of one of the first settlers of that part of the country, a Mr Peter Folger, honourably mentioned in Dr Cotton Mather's "Mag-

* In the following *epitaph*, it is true, (but Franklin had too much good sense, to inscribe even a parent's tomb with a notoriously false compliment) which he placed on a marble tablet over the grave of his parents, after his more successful course:—

" HERE LIE

" Josias Franklin, and Abiah his wife: they lived together with reciprocal affection for fifty-nine years; and, without private fortune, without lucrative employment, by assiduous labour, and honest industry, decently supported a numerous family, and educated, with success, thirteen children and seven grandchildren. Let this example, reader, encourage thee diligently to discharge the duties of thy calling, and to rely on the support of Divine Providence.

" He was pious and prudent,

" She discreet and virtuous.

" Their youngest son, from a sentiment of filial duty, consecrates this stone to their memory."

nalia Christi Americana." His elder brothers were apprenticed to different trades; but being, as he quaintly says, "the tithe of his father's sons," he was originally designed for the church, and was accordingly placed at the grammar-school of Boston for about a year. This clerical destination was greatly encouraged by his uncle and sponsor, Benjamin, then residing in the family, who had already prepared a goodly stock of abridged and short-hand sermons for his nephew's future use. But his father's straitened circumstances ill affording the expense, and his excellent understanding teaching him the folly of educating a child beyond his probable prospects in life, Benjamin was finally placed at a respectable English school, where he continued until he had completed his tenth year. He states it as something remarkable, that he never remembers the time when he could not read.

At the age of ten, much against his own will, he was taken home, to assist his father in business. This unsettled him, and together with the contiguity of the sea, and the similar attempt of an elder brother, urged him frequently to think of resorting to a seafaring life. The father however was too wise a parent to constrain his inclinations hopelessly, and exhibited something of the practical philosophy of a mind adapted to his circumstances. When walking amongst joiners, bricklayers, turners, braziers, &c., at their work, he was careful to observe upon which of these useful arts the attention of Benjamin appeared to fix itself. This was one of the most critical points of that son's history. It was the best and final effort of the father "to fix him in some trade or profession that would keep him on the land;" and the kindness of the motive was duly appreciated by the son. It opened the only proper door of escape from pursuits to which he had an insuperable aversion. From the period of these walks, he says, "it ever afterwards became a pleasure to him to see good workmen handle their tools."

He was now placed for a few months with a cousin, a cutler; but his brother James, who had been bred a printer, opportunely returning to Boston with a set of types from England, the father established him there in that business; and Benjamin was offered a situation as his apprentice. This accorded with his bookish propensities; but the term of bondage proposed was unreasonable, and his seafaring inclinations yet remained. He at last however signed an indenture, at twelve years of age, which bound him to his brother until his majority, and decided in a great measure the course and fortune of his future days. As the father here resigns all immediate government of our young philosopher, the reader may be gratified with the following sketch of his person and character, delivered by Dr Franklin in old age to *his* only son, forming as it does an excellent portrait of a father of a family in a subordinate line of life.

"It will not perhaps be uninteresting to you to know what sort of a man my father was. He had an excellent constitution, was of a middle size, but well made and strong, and extremely active in whatever he undertook. He designed with a degree of neatness, and knew a little of music. His voice was sonorous and agreeable; so that when he sang a psalm or hymn, with the accompaniment of his violin, as was his frequent practice in an evening, when the labours of the day were finished, it was truly delightful to hear him. He was versed also in mechanics, and could, upon occasion, use the tools of a variety of trades. But his greatest excellence was a sound understanding and solid judgment in matters of prudence, both in public and private life. In the former, indeed, he never engaged, because his numerous family, and the mediocrity of his fortune, kept him unremittingly employed in the duties of his profession. But I well remember, that the leading men of the place used frequently to come and ask his advice respecting the affairs of the town, or of the church to which he belonged, and that they paid much deference to his opinion. Individuals

were also in the habit of consulting him in their private affairs, and he was often chosen arbiter between contending parties.

“He was fond of having at his table, as often as possible, some friends or well-informed neighbours, capable of rational conversation; and he was always careful to introduce useful or ingenious topics of discourse, which might tend to form the minds of his children. By this means, he early attracted our attention to what was just, prudent, and beneficial, in the conduct of life. He never talked of the meats which appeared upon the table; never discussed whether they were well or ill dressed, of a good or bad flavour, high-seasoned or otherwise, preferable or inferior to this or that dish of a similar kind. Thus accustomed, from my infancy, to the utmost inattention as to these objects, I have been perfectly regardless of what kind of food was before me; and I pay so little attention to it even now, that it would be a hard matter for me to recollect, a few hours after I had dined, of what my dinner had consisted. When travelling, I have particularly experienced the advantage of this habit: for it has often happened to me to be in company with persons, who, having a more delicate because a more exercised, taste, have suffered, in many cases, considerable inconvenience; while, as to myself, I have had nothing to desire.”

Franklin, from childhood, was of a frugal turn, and saved money prior to his apprenticeship, which made him master of “Burton’s Historical Collection;” “small chapmen’s books,” as he describes them, “and cheap, forty volumes in all.” His father’s library contained the usual books of the more intelligent non-conformists of that day, *i.e.*, those of speculative and controversial divinity*; Plutarch’s Lives, however,

* An anecdote of Dr Franklin’s childhood has often been given; but it exhibits his propensity to innocent humour so characteristically, that we cannot omit it. The father followed the patterns of piety he had received from his ancestors, so as to be addicted to very long graces. When therefore, on one occasion, the family provision of salt meat for the winter was about to be put into a barrel, “Father,” said Benjamin, “if you were to say grace now, over the whole barrel at once, it would be a prodigious saving of time.”

inspired his early taste for biography and anecdote; Defoe's *Essays on Projects* stirred perhaps his first propensities to invention and practical enterprise; and Dr Mather's "*Essay to do Good*," his benevolent inclinations. He mentions the last two as tending to give him a turn of thinking which influenced the principal future events of his life.

We now hear no more of his preference for the sea; or it remained with him only in the innocent shape of the love of bathing and swimming; for he steadily applied to his brother's business, and became important to all his proceedings. Very humble, and humbly dealt with, was his first attempt at authorship—"wretched stuff," he lived to call it, "in the street-ballad style;" but the mercenary brother found his account in commissioning Benjamin to hawk some of these productions about the streets of Boston, particularly a ballad called "*The Light-house Tragedy*" (containing an account of a then recent shipwreck) and "*a Sailor's Song, on the taking of Teach or Blackbeard, a noted Pirate.*" The father however remonstrated, reminded both brothers that verse-makers were generally beggars, and criticised Benjamin's productions until he relinquished them.

But he was not unnoticed in a more encouraging way, and for more hopeful production. Matthew Adams, esq., an intelligent merchant of Boston, welcomed him to the use of a pretty extensive library; he read Locke, and the "*Port Royal Art of Thinking*;" and studied and imitated the *Spectator*. He speaks in warm terms of his delight at making an odd volume of the latter his own, and the use he promptly made of it. "This was a publication I had never seen," he says. "I bought the volume, and read it again and again. I was enchanted with it, thought the style excellent, and wished it were in my power to imitate it. With this view, I selected some of the papers, made short summaries of the sense of each period, and put them for a few days aside. I then, without looking at the book, endeavoured to restore the essays to their due

form, and to express each thought at length, as it was in the original, employing the most appropriate words that occurred to my mind.

"I afterwards compared my Spectator with the original: I perceived some faults, which I corrected; but I found that I wanted a fund of words, if I may so express myself, and a facility of recollecting and employing them, which I thought I should by that time have acquired, had I continued to make verses. The continual need of words of the same meaning, but of different lengths for the measure, or of different sounds for the rhyme, would have obliged me to seek for a variety of synonymes, and have rendered me master of them. From this belief, I took some of the tales of the Spectator, and turned them into verse; and after a time, when I had sufficiently forgotten them, I again converted them into prose.

"Sometimes also I mingled all my summaries together, and a few weeks after endeavoured to arrange them in the best order, before I attempted to form the periods and complete the essays. This I did with a view of acquiring method in the arrangement of my thoughts. On comparing afterwards my performance with the original, many faults were apparent, which I corrected; but I had sometimes the satisfaction to think, that in certain particulars of little importance I had been fortunate enough to improve the order of thought or the style; and this encouraged me to hope that I should succeed, in time, in writing decently in the English language, which was one of the great objects of my ambition."

About this time, a literary acquaintance of the name of Collins, of Boston, induced Franklin to attempt his first original composition in prose. They had been disputing verbally on the propriety of bestowing a learned education upon the female sex. Franklin maintained the affirmative of the question: but his opponent, having the greater command of words, left him mortified with the feeling of a momentary defeat. As they were not again to meet for

some time, Franklin determined to attempt a reply to Collins on paper: and a correspondence was commenced upon the subject. Thus springs the future stream of Franklin's literary character, and his singular ability for temperate and fair discussion. He here again receives the advantage of his father's superintendence of his plans. The papers both of Benjamin and his friend were accidentally seen by him; to Collins he gave the palm of superior eloquence—to Franklin, of more correct orthography and punctuation; but far from discouraging his future attempts in this way, he stimulated his plans of self-improvement, and fostered his rising ambition.

His other modes of economising time and money were often commendable. He adopted a vegetable diet; and offering to maintain himself for half the money his brother paid for his board, the overture was readily accepted. Out of money saved from this half now paid to him, he contrived to obtain what was to him a considerable fund for the purchase of books: and while his brother and the other workmen took their dinner and other meals, his lighter repast of biscuit or bread and water, a handful of raisins, or a tart, was soon despatched, and afforded him leisure for reading and study, which he could obtain in no other way.

Evidently fond of disputation, and having increased some previous tendency to scepticism by the perusal of Collins and Shaftesbury, he now studied the Socratic method of conducting it, to the great occasional perplexity of his associates; but with great good sense he established a rule for himself, never to use the phrases "certainly, undoubtedly," or any others that gave an air of positiveness to his opinions; but to substitute—"I conceive; I apprehend; it appears to me so and so: it is so, if I am not greatly mistaken." "This habit, I believe," he says, "has been of great advantage to me, when I have had occasion to inculcate my opinions, and persuade men into measures that I have been, from time to time, engaged in promoting.

And as the chief ends of conversation are to inform or to be informed, to please or to persuade, I wish well-meaning and sensible men would not lessen their power of doing good by a positive, assuming manner; that seldom fails to disgust, tends to create opposition, and to defeat most of the purposes for which speech was given to us."

Men must be taught as if you taught them not,
And things unknown proposed as things forgot.

So long as this can be fairly reconciled with *sincerity*, this advice may be attended to; but this last line from Pope may probably suggest rather too close a connexion with the art of the courtier to be unequivocally recommended.

When about four years of Franklin's apprenticeship had expired, we find him contributing material assistance to his brother in the establishment of a newspaper—the New England Courant. This was the second that appeared in the colonies; and Mr James Franklin was seriously dissuaded by many of his friends from undertaking it, on the ground of one paper being enough for America!

It being Benjamin's office to assist in the distribution of the paper, and to communicate between the press and the contributors, he soon imbibed a desire to try his hand amongst the latter, and began by placing anonymous essays, in a disguised handwriting, under the office-door. Great was his delight on finding them attributed to some of the most ingenious and learned men of the town: he returned to his undertaking with fresh vigour, and had even the rare good sense to pause when "his fund for such performances was exhausted." He then avowed his productions, and advanced in the estimation of the Bostonian wits accordingly.

But alas for the propensity of our nature to envy! James Franklin soon considered his brother's authorship in this point of view. It increased the sale of his paper; this was solid pudding: but it brought the poor author empty praise; and this, in James's opinion, was dangerous food for his brother. Dis-

putes arose: the father occasionally arbitrated, and generally in Benjamin's favour: the brother was passionate; our author, now by habit and system, cool, wary, and self-governable. Every service of a common apprentice he could not think it reasonable to require of him who, as a brother and an *author*, had claims not often united. At length James's affairs were brought to a crisis which presented him the wished-for prospect of liberty. The Massachusetts Assembly, which sat at Boston, took offence at some political remarks in the *Courant*, and issued a warrant for the apprehension of the printer. Benjamin Franklin was also apprehended, but dismissed with a slight reprimand. The brother was sent to prison, on the Speaker's warrant, for a month, for refusing to give up the author; during which period Benjamin exerted himself with great zeal for the interests of the paper, boldly canvassing the measures of the Assembly, and evincing the full ability to make the utmost of a persecuted cause. When James was dismissed, it was with an order of Assembly, "that he James Franklin, should no longer print the newspaper called the *New England Courant*." The friends of the new undertaking, pecuniary and literary, now sat in conclave. The order must not be disobeyed; but the happy circumstance of Benjamin uniting the same family-name with (as it was supposed) the same general interest, suggested a method of eluding it; and James was advised to use his brother's name as printer of the paper, and to cancel his indentures, that it might upon inquiry appear more feasibly his own. The elder brother however had his share of the family acuteness, and stipulated that new secret indentures should be signed between them for the completion of Benjamin's apprenticeship. This was done; but the future champion of public liberty was on the alert for his own. Quarrels again ensued. The younger brother too honestly blames himself for "taking advantage" of his new situation, to allow a biographer to add any thing to the censure; but he did take advantage of it in their

disputes henceforward. James acted, it is equally evident, a rash and tyrannical part; and under "the mortifying feeling of *blows* freely administered," there is little ground for surprise that this able and in other respects worthy lad resolved to quit his servitude. "It was not fair in me to take this advantage," he says; "and this I therefore notice as one of the first *errata* of my life: but the unfairness of it weighed little with me when under the impression of resentment for the blows his passion too often urged him to bestow upon me. Though he was otherwise not an ill-natured man—perhaps I was too saucy and provoking."

His intention of leaving was avowed; and the brother took care so to prejudice all the neighbouring printers against him, that Franklin could entertain no prospect of employment at Boston. His character also was not in good savour with the ruling powers; and his father was too just a man not to avow his displeasure at his present determination. Covert measures were therefore resorted to in the management of his departure, which was concerted with his friend Collins; a passage being taken for him with the latter, in a New York vessel, as a lad whom an unfortunate intrigue had compelled to leave the place. He was now but seventeen; and escaping on board without molestation, found himself at New York in three days, a perfect stranger to all its inhabitants, almost penniless, and without a line of recommendation.

But Franklin never wanted confidence in himself, nor despaired of his resources. Finding that one Bradford, the established printer there, had no employment for him, but considered it probable that a son of his at Philadelphia would give him work, he took the boat without hesitation for Amboy, leaving his chest and baggage to come to him by sea. The passage was stormy, and the boat had to pass a night on the coast of Long Island. Like many other young sailors, he now had his *quantum sufficit* of a seafaring life, and was compelled to digest his yet small acquirements

as a philosopher in the company of a drunken Dutchman, and the only literary companion in the boat—honest John Bunyan and his patient Pilgrim. The evening he landed at Amboy, having been thirty hours on the water without food, or any drink except from a bottle of filthy rum, he was violently attacked with fever. His remedy was copious draughts of cold water, which, happening to produce perspiration, succeeded; and the following morning he started on foot for Burlington, fifty miles distant.

The next evening, after a very rainy day, which drenched him thoroughly, he was compelled to put up with the miserable accommodations of one of the lowest *American* inns by the road-side, and began heartily to repent having quitted his brother. A backward course however was now more impracticable than to go forward. A few miles from Burlington he found a titled innkeeper and traveller, a Dr Brown, who soon diverted his melancholy, and confirmed his sceptical opinions, and with whom he laid the foundation of an acquaintance which continued for many years. Arriving the third day, Saturday, at Burlington, he had the misfortune to find that all the Philadelphia boats had sailed, and that no other was expected to start before the Tuesday following. Asking advice as to his proceeding in the mean time, a charitable old woman, of whom he had purchased gingerbread, offered to lodge him, and supplied him with a plentiful dinner of ox-cheek, for the compliment of a pot of ale. In an evening walk however he was agreeably surprised to find a boat on the Delaware, sailing for the capital; he bargained for his passage, and went directly on board. He had not yet conciliated Neptune; for the wind fell, the boat was drifted into a creek of which her managers knew nothing, and another cold October night was spent by the young adventurer on the water—ushering in a miserable Sunday morning, which showed them they had passed Philadelphia; when they tacked, and reached the city between eight and nine.

Here again Franklin felt his destitution in no small degree. On the road his appearance had excited suspicion of his being a runaway lad; and it was not now improved by his second voyage, his hunger and fatigue, and the working dress he wore being crammed with dirty linen. His whole amount of money consisted of a shilling's-worth of copper, which he paid for his fare, and a single dollar.

"I walked," he observes, "towards the top of the street, looking eagerly on both sides, till I came to Market-street, where I met a child with a loaf of bread. Often had I made my dinner on dry bread. I inquired where he had bought it, and went straight to the baker's shop which he pointed out to me. I asked for some biscuits, expecting to find such as we had at Boston; but they made, it seems, none of that sort at Philadelphia. I then asked for a threepenny loaf. They made no loaves of that price. Finding myself ignorant of the prices, as well as of the different kinds of bread, I desired him to let me have threepennyworth of bread, of some kind or other. He gave me three large rolls. I was surprised at receiving so much; I took them however, and having no room in my pockets, I walked on with a roll under each arm, eating the third. In this manner, I went through Market-street to Fourth-street, and passed the house of Mr Read, the father of my future wife. She was standing at the door, observed me, and thought, with reason, that I made a very singular and grotesque appearance.

"I then turned the corner, and went through Chestnut-street, eating my roll all the way; and having made this round, I found myself again on Market-street-wharf, near the boat in which I arrived. I stepped into it to take a draught of the river-water; and finding myself satisfied with my first roll, I gave the other two to a woman and her child, who had come down the river with us in the boat, and was waiting to continue her journey. Thus refreshed, I regained the street, which was now full of well-dressed people,

all going the same way. I joined them, and was thus led to a large Quaker's meeting-house near the market-place. I sat down with the rest, and, after looking round me for some time, hearing nothing said, and being drowsy from my last night's labour and want of rest, I fell into a sound sleep. In this state I continued till the assembly dispersed, when one of the congregation had the goodness to wake me. This was consequently the first house I entered, or in which I slept, at Philadelphia."

Franklin was directed from that abode of quiet and quiet meditation, the Quaker's meeting-house, near the market, Philadelphia, by one of the congregation, to the Crooked Billet inn in Water-street, where he dined, and slept soundly till supper-time (six o'clock) when he had to endure many inquiries of the inmates as to his origin and plans. In the morning he sought the shop of Andrew Bradford, a printer, and was cheered by the sight of the only friend he had seen since he left home—the father, who had come up from New York on horseback. Young Bradford treated him hospitably, and offered to lodge him until he was better provided, but could give him no work: on which, the old man offered to proceed with him to one Keimer, another printer of the city; who, mistaking the elder Bradford for a fellow-citizen, received the youth with civility, and promised him employment in a few days. Franklin saw at a glance the character of his new master, who was the ready dupe of old Bradford's questions as to all his connexions and prospects, and in no small degree surprised and mortified when informed of his name.

In Keimer he found the professions of printer and author united, as in his own case; only this worthy son of the muses had not so ungratefully abandoned them. He was composing verses in solid printing-metal, not finding them to require the crucible of writing or further thought, and with but one pair of cases; this metallic stream proceeding solely out of "one small head."—Franklin says, with the greatest sim-

plicity,—“no one could help him!”—However, Franklin was the only pressman of the two, and found himself quickly the only man in Philadelphia who was well acquainted with the whole printing business. After getting Keimer's press into order, and working it for him, Bradford engaged him as a compositor, as well as to correct his own and his customers' blundering compositions. But jealousy was excited by this attempt to serve two masters; Keimer provided for him a lodging at Mr Read's (his own landlord) in a neighbouring street; and thus commenced Franklin's acquaintance with his future wife's family.

It was during this first voyage to Philadelphia, while the vessel was becalmed off Block Island, that Franklin was cured of his youthful fancy to relinquish animal food. From reading a treatise of one Tryon on the subject, he had in fact entirely abstained for some time from eating any thing that had life; even the taking of fish he considered as a species of murder, they having done nothing to deserve a violent death. But the crew at this time busily engaged themselves in catching cod, once a favourite dish of Franklin's. When it came from the fire, the smell was very tempting; he says, “I hesitated some time between principle and inclination, till at last recollecting, that when the cod had been opened, some small fish were found in its belly, I said to myself, If you eat one another, I see no reason why we may not eat you. I accordingly dined on the cod with no small degree of pleasure, and have since continued to eat like the rest of mankind, returning only occasionally to my vegetable plan. How convenient does it prove, to be a *rational animal* that knows how to find or invent a plausible pretext for whatever it has an inclination to do!”

Benjamin Franklin was thus, at one remove, in the very sphere he was formed to shine in. He was maintaining himself independently; and while at the head of his associates, and even of his employers, in every thing intellectual, he was working slowly forward in his

own mind and character, upon the same general plans and principles which he exhibited throughout life. Boston troubles, and even friends, except friend Collins, seem to have been forgotten. He saved money; enlarged his literary acquaintance; and spent his earnings and leisure time at once frugally and happily.

The first person of consideration who appears to have discovered Franklin's superior parts, was sir William Keith, the governor of Pennsylvania. Though the debt of gratitude between the parties was never large, and the governor finally acted an inconsistent part, it evinces some instinctive knowledge of character in sir William, that seeing accidentally the first letter of our young printer to his family, he was impressed so favourably with its contents, as to declare that he would soon be, and ought to be, at the head of his profession in Philadelphia. This circumstance occurred by accident at Newcastle in the county of Delaware. Franklin had a brother-in-law, master of a trading sloop which frequented that town; from which he wrote to our youth an expostulatory letter on the grief which his absence had caused his friends. Franklin replied in a fair statement of its causes; declining to return, as his relative advised; but wishing to stand well in his opinion, and that his friends should be informed he was better appreciated where he was. Governor Keith, happening to be in company with Holmes at the time, perused this letter, pronounced the author a young man of good parts, said that he must and should be encouraged; that if he would set up in Philadelphia, he would take care to transfer to him the public business from the present wretched printers of that capital, and to recommend him wherever he had influence.

The Governor was so decided, at the time, in this feeling in Franklin's favour, that, on returning to Philadelphia, he called upon him at Keimer's, to the great surprise of both himself and his employer; took him to drink wine with him at a neighbouring tavern; and proposed at once, that he should solicit his father

to place him in business. His promises of the patronage, which as governor he could insure to him, were seconded by those of a colonel French, his friend, who was connected with the government of the province of Delaware. Franklin of course readily concurred in such unexpected and flattering plans. Sir William further offered to write a letter to his father, with which Benjamin Franklin was himself to proceed by the first vessel to Boston.

After this, he was invited to the table at the government-house, and received as a known public favourite of Keith: but the scheme of his commencing business for himself it was thought proper not as yet to avow.

In the spring of 1724, he proposed to Keimer to return to Boston to visit his family. The Governor furnished him with the ample recommendation he had promised; which, with his entirely altered appearance, surprised his friends in no small degree. His father's heart was open to him again; but his brother James could not be softened by the intervention of either parent.

After inquiring carefully as to sir William Keith's general character, the elder Franklin determined respectfully to decline his offers for the present. He considered him a man of "small discretion," as he told Benjamin, "to think of setting up a young man in business, who wanted three years of man's estate;" perhaps he became acquainted too with the small reliance that was to be placed upon sir William's constancy. He was naturally pleased however with the circumstance of Benjamin obtaining so distinguished a patron, and commended him for it; acknowledging that he must have been both industrious and frugal to return so well provided in a few months (about seven) and giving his hearty consent to our youth's remaining at Philadelphia. His inclination for dispute and satire he advised him to control, and to endeavour, by the time he came of age, to save money for his own use in the way proposed; promising that, if he then came near the mark, he would not fail to help him through.

His friend Collins was so pleased with Franklin's success in Philadelphia, that he resigned a situation he had obtained in the Boston post-office, with a view to return with him.

The only advantage, therefore, which he obtained by this voyage, was a reconciliation to the greater and better part of his family, a circumstance which he seems duly to have appreciated. He re-embarked for New York in the course of the summer, calling in at Newport, Rhode Island, by the way, to visit his brother John. Here he received a commission from one Vernon, a friend of his brothers, to collect a debt for him in Pennsylvania (about 35*l.* currency) which soon taught him how little he was to be intrusted, at this time, with more important business.

In the voyage from Newport, he accompanied a female Quaker and her family, to whom he states himself to have incurred no small obligation. Observing a considerable familiarity between him and her servants, she took him aside, and said, "Young man, I am in pain for thee; thou hast no parent to watch over thy conduct, and thou seemest to be ignorant of the world, and the snares to which youth is exposed. Rely upon what I tell thee: those are women of bad character; I perceive it in all their actions. If thou dost not take care, they will lead thee into danger. They are strangers to thee; and I advise thee, by the friendly interest I take in thy preservation, to form no connexion with them."

On his doubting her opinion of his companions, she gave him some further details respecting them; and the issue proved both her kindness and her discrimination. The captain missing some plate on their arrival at New York, suspicion fell upon these young women. Their lodgings, to which Franklin had been invited, but refused to go, were searched, and the property found there. "And thus, after having been saved from one rock concealed under water, upon which the vessel struck during our passage, I escaped another of a still more dangerous nature."

At New York, new favours and frowns of fortune diversify our young philosopher's history. Burnet, the governor (a son of the celebrated bishop Burnet) hearing of the goodly freight of books which Franklin brought with him, desired the captain to bring him to the government-house; displayed a well-furnished library; and entered into a long conversation with him on literary subjects. Here also he found his friend Collins waiting for him, who had so far forgotten their warmly-cherished philosophy, as to become a confirmed dram-drinker and gamester. Franklin had to pay some considerable debts for him, before they could proceed to the capital; and was thus tempted to expend the money he had received for his brother's friend. This he calls "one of the first great *errata* of his life."

In Philadelphia Collins could obtain no situation, his habits being, as Franklin thought, suspected. He fell therefore into entire dependence on his friend, who relates as follows the adventure that happily closed this profitless union.

"When he had drunk a little too much, he was very headstrong. Being one day in a boat together, on the Delaware, with some other young persons, he refused to take his turn in rowing. 'You shall row for me,' said he, 'till we get home.'—'No,' I replied, 'we will not row for you.'—'You shall,' said he, 'or remain upon the water all night'—'As you please.' 'Let us row,' said the rest of the company; 'what signifies whether he assists or not?' But already angry with him for his conduct in other respects, I persisted in my refusal. He then swore that he would make me row, or would throw me out of the boat; and he made up to me. As soon as he was within my reach, I took him by the collar, gave him a violent thrust, and threw him head foremost into the river. I knew that he was a good swimmer, and was therefore under no apprehensions for his life. Before he could turn himself, we were able, by a few strokes of our oars, to place ourselves out of his reach; and

whenever he touched the boat, we asked him if he would row, striking his hands at the same time with the oars to make him let go his hold. He was nearly suffocated with rage, but obstinately refused making any promise to row. Perceiving, at length, that his strength began to be exhausted, we took him into the boat, and conveyed him home in the evening, completely drenched. The utmost coldness subsisted between us after this adventure. At last the captain of a West-india ship, who was commissioned to procure a tutor for the children of a gentleman at Barbadoes, meeting with Collins, offered him the place. He accepted it, and took his leave of me, promising to discharge the debt he owed me with the first money he should receive; but I have heard nothing of him since."

Sir William Keith, on reading the letter which Franklin brought from his father, pronounced his decision "too prudent," re-asserting his own strong opinion of our hero's merit, and his determination instantly to do for him what the father refused. He was resolved to have a good printer in Philadelphia, he said; Franklin was the man he wanted; he would procure the necessary types from England, for which he should repay him when able. What young man could have believed him insincere? "I naturally thought him," says Franklin, "one of the best men in the world."

It was now arranged that he was to prepare an inventory of types and presses; which having produced, and brought within 100*l.* sterling, the Governor suggested that he had better proceed by the annual ship from Philadelphia to London, to select his own types, and to open a correspondence with the English booksellers. Some months having first to expire, Franklin resumed his engagement with Keimer.

This singular old tradesman was evidently Franklin's butt. The latter, from the good company he kept, and the constant improvement of his own powers, felt it no great presumption to assume equality

with his employer, who had once been a disciple of the celebrated French prophets. Franklin describes him as retaining much of his enthusiasm and superstitious particularities to old age. Upon him he exercised his power of argument freely, puzzled him with his 'Socratic method,' and drew him into endless difficulties and contradictions, until he would rarely answer him a question without inquiring what was to be Franklin's inference. They entered, at length, into a sort of joint agreement to erect a new sect! Keimer was to be the prophet, and Franklin the champion of the scheme 'against all comers:' but a practical test of the master's constancy was first to be made. He was to relinquish animal food, and enjoin entire abstinence from it. The weak old man appears to have persevered for some time, during which he seems to have been the dupe of Franklin's love of humour, but finally gave in, and re-commenced animal food, by devouring a whole pig at a single sitting.

Franklin, at this time, contracted a more honourable engagement with Miss Read, his landlord's daughter. Neither of the parties had reached their nineteenth year; but she was very sensible and prudent, in Franklin's esteem, and her friends seem to have possessed as much caution as Franklin's. The marriage was prevented by her mother, on account of their youth; but no objection was taken to a gay young man of such respectable prospects.

He has left a character of his three principal literary associates at this time, which throws considerable light on his own. Two of them were articulated clerks to a solicitor, the other a merchant's clerk; one a religious, intelligent, and very worthy youth, according to Franklin's own description, named Watson; the other two, Ralph and Osborne, unsettled in their religious principles, chiefly by his own arguments. The whole party were, of course, professed critics, and Ralph and Osborne poetical enthusiasts. The poets, like some greater ones, could never agree; but Franklin ordinarily confined himself to reading and

criticising poets for amusement, or with a view to increase his stock of words, and improve his taste.'

An agreement being, on one occasion, entered into for each of the party to produce a metrical version of the eighteenth psalm, Ralph called on Franklin a few days before the time appointed, and produced what the latter thought a piece of some merit. Franklin had been, in the interim, much engaged, and was not ready. Finding this, Ralph importuned him to play off a literary experiment on the others, and particularly on his opponents. "Osborne," said he, "never will allow the least merit to a poem of mine." (He was perpetually advising him to stick to his counter, where he would find diligence and punctuality his best recommendations.) "He is not so jealous of you; take this, and produce it as yours; I will pretend to have had no time to produce any thing."

The friends assembled; Watson first produced a tolerable performance: Osborne a much better one; Ralph's was now called for, but he declared he had nothing to bring forward. The party then looked to Franklin, who, with great unwillingness, and several apologies for his want of time for full correction, brought out Ralph's psalm. It was no sooner read, than admired rapturously. Ralph alone proposed some emendations, for which Osborne was bitterly severe upon him. "But who could have imagined that Franklin was capable of such a performance!" said he. "Such poetry, such force, such fire! He has even improved on the original. In common conversation he seems to have no choice of words; he hesitates and blunders; and yet how he writes!" This affair confirmed Ralph's resolution to devote himself to poetry, in which, as we shall presently see, he earned himself a place in Pope's Dunciad, although possessed of considerable powers of mind and abilities in another line of composition.

As the period for Franklin's proposed voyage to England approached, he applied frequently at the govern-

ment-house for his letters of credit and recommendation; but a future day was always appointed. The sailing of the ship was postponed more than once; but the governor still was not ready. At last, when the vessel was about to sail, and Franklin called to receive his letters and take leave of sir William, the colonial secretary told him that the governor was much engaged with official papers, but would be down at Newcastle before the ship.

Franklin embarked, and dropped down to that port: Ralph also, deserting a wife and child, sailed with him. Here was surely another *erratum* in Franklin's history: such a companion for his chosen friend! But Ralph's plan of finally abandoning his family does not appear to have been fully disclosed at this time.

Arriving at Newcastle, Franklin found that the governor was certainly there; but the secretary received him with apologies, and assured him that it was with the greatest regret sir William Keith could not see him; but he would not fail to send the promised letters on board, and wished him heartily a successful voyage and speedy return. Franklin was disconcerted at this conduct, so contrary, apparently, to his first cordial professions and general treatment of him; but he was not yet suspicious. He therefore finally arranged his birth, stores, &c. When the governor's despatches for England were brought on board by colonel French, and Franklin inquired for his letters, he was informed by the captain that they were all deposited in one bag, which he could not then have disturbed, but that he would give him an opportunity for inspecting it during the voyage.

Our young philosopher now felt satisfied he was on the high road to fame and fortune, mingled freely with the most respectable passengers in the vessel, and obtained, with Ralph, the birth originally designed for a legal gentleman (Mr Hamilton) and his son, who were recalled to Philadelphia just as the vessel was about to sail. A quaker merchant

Mr Denham, was on board, and sailed with him, with whom Franklin contracted a lasting friendship.

In the British channel Franklin was permitted, as agreed, to look for his letters, and finding six or seven with his name on them, as committed to his care, had no doubt all was right. He landed in England, in December 1724, and reached London on the 24th of that month.

One of his letters was addressed to the king's printer; another to a stationer in the city, whose shop happening to be first in his way, he determined to go thither immediately. He delivered his packet to the master himself with no small confidence, as from governor Keith. "I do not know such a person," was the stationer's reply: but opening the letter, he exclaimed, "Oh! this is from Riddlesden; I have just found him out to be a complete rascal, and will receive nothing further from him." So delivering the letter again to Franklin, he turned on his heel toward another person. Our adventurer was now staggered; and revolving the strange delays, and the altered conduct of the governor towards him, with other circumstances, in his mind, he began to suspect himself duped. In this emergency, he happily found his Quaker friend, who assured him that Keith, far from being able to give him letters of credit on London, had no credit anywhere where he was known: that none who were acquainted with him depended on his promises; and that therefore his letters were not better than blank paper for Franklin. Riddlesden's character (the writer of the refused letter) Franklin and his friend both knew to be indifferent; he had nearly ruined the father of Miss Read: but the letter itself was evidence of his intriguing disposition. It appeared to allude to some secret plan, disconcerting Mr Hamilton's designs in coming to England; and being handed to that gentleman, on his arrival soon after, furnished that important information for which he ever acknowledged himself obliged to Franklin.

At the suggestion of the worthy Denham, he relinquished all dependence on sir William Keith's patronage at once, and applied himself to seeking employment in his business. He was brought, at any rate, to the most propitious spot in the world, for his improvement both as a printer and in all his favourite pursuits. Franklin, in his journal, dismisses Keith's character in a strain of very impartial and manly forbearance; ascribing his desertion of him to the habit "which a foolish wish to please every body may produce; and having little to give," he says quaintly, "he gave *expectations*. He was, otherwise, an ingenious sensible man, and a good governor for the people, though not for the proprietaries, whose interests he disregarded. Several of our best laws were of his planning, and passed during his government."

Thus introduced to that country whose very throne he was destined to shake, the subject of our memoir obtained employment at one Palmer's, a considerable printer in Bartholomew-close. His earnings were considerable, but his habits gay; and his friend Ralph, an idler and a spendthrift, depended wholly upon him. They lodged together in Little Britain, in rooms for which they paid 3*s.* 6*d.* a week. Ralph's ambition was to become an actor; but the ruling powers of the drama of that day gave him no encouragement, and Wilkes, the manager of Drury Lane, candidly advised him to seek some other mode of subsistence. He then offered to engage with one Roberts, a bookseller in Paternoster-row, to produce a succession of essays after the manner of the Spectator; but the publisher did not approve of his specimens. Making a similarly fruitless effort for employment with the scriveners, Ralph resigned himself to dissipation.

Franklin became a compositor on the second edition of "Woolaston's Religion of Nature," which awoke a train of metaphysical reflections in his mind. This resulted in his printing, on his own account, "A short Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and

Pain," which advanced him in his employer's estimation as a young man of talent, while he expostulated with him on the looseness of his principles. The piece was dedicated to his friend Ralph, with the following motto from Dryden :

— Whatever is, is right. But purblind man
Sees but a part o' the chain, the nearest link :
His eye not carrying to that equal beam
That poises all above.

We suppose it is in allusion to the principles of this production that Franklin says, " My printing this was another *erratum* *."

This pamphlet procured him some literary acquaintances. A neighbouring surgeon introduced him to Mandeville, the author of " The Fable of the Bees ;" and this led to his frequenting Mandeville's club at the Horns in Cheapside ; he contracted with a seller of second-hand books for the use of his stock ; met at Batson's coffee-house with Dr Pemberton, sir Isaac Newton's friend, and was promised an introduction to that great sage. Sir Hans Sloane welcomed him to his repository in Soho-square, and purchased of him an asbestos purse, and some other American curiosities.

He now recounts another grand *erratum* of his life—the total neglect of his engagement with Miss Read ;

* In a letter from Dr Franklin to Mr B. Vaughan, dated Nov. 9, 1779, we have the following account of this pamphlet :

" It was addressed to Mr J. R. (that is, James Ralph) then a youth of about my age, and my intimate friend ; afterwards a political writer and historian.

" The purport of it was to prove the doctrine of fate, from the supposed attributes of God, in some such manner as this. That in erecting and governing the world, as he was infinitely wise, he knew what would be best ; infinitely good, he must be disposed—and infinitely powerful, he must be able—to execute it. Consequently, all is right.

" There were only an hundred copies printed, of which I gave a few to friends ; and afterwards, disliking the piece, as conceiving it might have an ill tendency, I burnt the rest, except one copy, the margin of which was filled with manuscript notes by Lyons, author of the *Infatibility of Human Judgment*, who was at that time another of my acquaintance in London. I was not 19 years of age when this was written.

" In 1730, I wrote a piece on the other side of the question, which begun with laying for its foundation this fact ; ' *That almost all men in all ages and countries have, at times, made use of PRAYER.*' Thence I reasoned, that if all things are ordained, prayer must, among the rest, be ordained. But praying exists, therefore all other things are not ordained, &c. This pamphlet was never printed, and the manuscript has been lost. The great uncertainty I found in metaphysical reasonings disgusted me ; and I quitted that kind of reading and study for others more satisfactory."

he never having written to her more than one letter from London, to inform her that he was not likely soon to return. She also appears, however, to have been something of the philosopher in love, having been some time married on Franklin's return.

Ralph now openly avowed his intention of never more returning to his wife and child, and took a mistress, whom our hero chiefly maintained; but at length left London to open a village school in Berkshire. During his absence, Franklin took liberties with Mrs T***, which she and Ralph alike resented, and which produced a final separation between the friends:—another *erratum*, says our honest auto-biographer.

After the completion of twelve months at Palmer's, Franklin removed to the printing office of Mr Watts, in Lincoln's-inn-fields *, where he continued during the whole of his subsequent stay in the British metropolis. He found a contiguous lodging with a widow lady in Duke-street, opposite the Catholic chapel, for which he paid at his old rate of 3s. 6d. weekly, and received no new impression in favour of Christians from his occasional notices of the Romish superstitions in this family and neighbourhood. His landlady was a clergyman's daughter who, marrying a Catholic, had abjured Protestantism, and became acquainted with several distinguished families of that persuasion. She and Franklin found mutual pleasure in each other's society. He kept good hours; and she was too lame generally to leave her room; frugality was the habit of both; half an anchovy, a small slice of bread and butter each, with half a pint of ale between them, furnished commonly their supper. So well pleased was the widow with her inmate, that when Franklin talked of removing to another house, where he could obtain the same accommodation as

* When he came to England afterwards, as the agent of Massachusetts, he went into the printing office of Mr Watts in Wild-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, and going up to a particular press (now in the possession of Messrs Cox and Baylis, of Great Queen-street) thus addressed the two workmen: "Come, my friends, we will drink together; it is now forty years since I worked like you, at this press, as a journeyman printer." He sent for a gallon of porter, and they drank "success to printing."

with her for 2s. per week, she became generous in his favour, and abated her charge for his room to that sum. He never paid her more during the rest of his stay with her, which was the whole time he continued in London. In the attic was a maiden Catholic lady, by choice and habit a nun. She had been sent early in life to the Continent to take the veil; but the climate disagreeing with her health, she returned home; devoted her small estate to charitable purposes, with the exception of about 12*l.* a year; practised confession daily; and lived entirely on water-gruel. Her presence was thought a blessing to the house; and several of its tenants in succession had charged her no rent. Her room contained a mattress, table, crucifix, and stool, as its only furniture. She admitted the occasional visits of Franklin and her landlady; was cheerful, he says, and healthful: and while her superstition moved his compassion, he felt confirmed in his frugality by her example, and exhibits it in his journal as another proof of the possibility of supporting life, health, and cheerfulness, on very small means.

During the first weeks of his engagement with Mr Watts, he worked as a pressman, drinking only water, while his companions had their five pints of porter each per day; and his strength was superior to their's. He ridiculed the verbal logic of strong beer being necessary for strong work; contending that the strength yielded by malt-liquor could only be in proportion to the quantity of flour or actual *grain* dissolved in the liquor, and that a penny-worth of bread must have more of this than a pot of porter. The Water-American, as he was called, had some converts to his system; his example, in this case, being clearly better than his philosophy*.

* For while the mucilaginous qualities of porter may form one criterion of the nourishment it yields, it does not follow that mere nourishment is or ought to be the only consideration in a labouring man's use of malt-liquor or any other aliment. It is well known that flesh-meats yield chyle in greater abundance than any production of the vegetable kingdom; but Franklin would not have considered this any argument for living wholly upon meat. The fact is, that the stimulating quality of all fermented liquors (when moderately taken) is an essential part of the refreshment, and therefore of the strength they yield.

"We curse not wine—the vile excess we blame."

Franklin was born to be a revolutionist, in many good senses of the word. He now proposed and carried several alterations in the so-called *chapel-laws* of the printing office; resisted what he thought the impositions, while he conciliated the respect, of his fellow-workmen; and always had cash and credit in the neighbourhood at command, to which the sottish part of his brethren were occasionally, and sometimes largely, indebted. He thus depicts this part of his prosperous life:—"On my entrance, I worked at first as a pressman, conceiving that I had need of bodily exercise, to which I had been accustomed in America, where the printers work alternately as compositors and at the press. I drank nothing but water. The other workmen, to the number of about fifty, were great drinkers of beer. I carried occasionally a large form of letters in each hand, up and down stairs, while the rest employed both hands to carry one. They were surprised to see, by this and many other examples, that the *American Aquatic*, as they used to call me, was stronger than those that drank porter. The beer-boy had sufficient employment during the whole day in serving that house alone. My fellow pressman drank every day a pint of beer before breakfast, a pint with bread and cheese for breakfast, one between breakfast and dinner, one at dinner, one again about six o'clock in the afternoon, and another after he had finished his day's work. This custom appeared to me abominable; but he had need, he said, of all this beer, in order to acquire strength to work.

"I endeavoured to convince him, that the bodily strength furnished by the beer could only be in proportion to the solid part of the barley dissolved in the water of which the beer was composed; that there was a larger portion of flour in a penny loaf, and that, consequently, if he ate this loaf, and drank a pint of water with it, he would derive more strength from it than from a pint of beer. This reasoning however did not prevent him from drinking his accustomed quantity of beer, and paying every Saturday night a

score of four or five shillings a week for this cursed beverage ; an expence from which I was wholly exempt. Thus do these poor devils continue all their lives in a state of voluntary wretchedness and poverty.

“ My example prevailed with several of them to renounce their abominable practice of bread and cheese with beer ; and they procured, like me, from a neighbouring house, a good basin of warm gruel, in which was a small slice of butter, with toasted bread and nutmeg. This was a much better breakfast, which did not cost more than a pint of beer, namely, three-halfpence, and at the same time preserved the head clearer.—Those who continued to gorge themselves with beer, often lost their credit with the publican, from neglecting to pay their score. They had then recourse to me to become security for them, *their light*, as they used to call it, *being out*. I attended at the pay-table every Saturday evening, to take up the little sums which I had made myself answerable for, and which sometimes amounted to near thirty shillings a week.

“ This circumstance, added to my reputation of being a tolerable good *gabber*, or, in other words, skilful in the art of burlesque, kept up my importance in the chapel. I had, besides, recommended myself to the esteem of my master by my assiduous application to business, never observing Saint Monday. My extraordinary quickness in composing always procured me such work as was most urgent, and which is commonly best paid ; and thus my time passed away in a very pleasant manner.”

Franklin, from boyhood, was a capital swimmer. He had studied and practised Thevenot's doctrines ; and displayed, during his stay in London, that agility on the Thames which procured him great admiration. Returning one day with a party from Chelsea, he swam the greater part of the way from that place to Blackfriars bridge, displaying aquatic feats at which the spectators were astonished, and in which it appears he had few equals.

He frequently used a kite, when a boy, as a sort of sail for the human body. Swimming he calls a kind of rowing with the arms and legs; and the addition of a sail, as he terms it, was suggested by his approaching a pond, while flying a kite on a summer's day. "I tied," he says, "the string to a stake, and the kite ascended to a considerable height above the pond, while I was swimming. In a little time, being desirous of amusing myself with my kite, and of enjoying at the same time the pleasure of swimming, I returned, and loosing from the stake the string with the little stick which was fastened to it, went again into the water, where I found that, lying on my back, and holding the stick in my hands, I was drawn along the surface of the water in a very agreeable manner. Having then engaged another boy to carry my clothes round the pond to a place which I pointed out to him on the other side, I began to cross the pond with my kite, which carried me quite over without the least fatigue, and with the greatest pleasure imaginable. I was only obliged occasionally to halt a little in my course, and resist its progress, when it appeared that by following too quickly I lowered the kite too much; by doing which occasionally, I made it rise again. I have never since that time practised this singular mode of swimming, though I think it not impossible to cross in this manner from Dover to Calais. The packet-boat however is still preferable."

Sir William Wyndham sent for him, in consequence of his fame in this art, to teach his sons to swim, and proposed a handsome remuneration to him for his trouble: so that Franklin conceived, had he remained in England, he might have opened a swimming school with very good prospects of success. "Had the overture," he says, "been made earlier by sir William, and when he was less disposed than he now was to return to America, he would certainly have accepted it, and attempted some public establishment of the kind."

He also, about this time, entertained a proposal from a very intelligent and well-educated fellow-

workman to travel over Europe with him, working by the way. But his good friend Denham, whom he frequently consulted, was against this project, and soon induced him to relinquish his present engagement, and prepare for returning to his native country.

Denham had come over to Europe to purchase goods for a general store in Philadelphia, in which he had of late been very successful. Admiring Franklin's industrious and frugal turn, he now invited him to become his assistant in arranging and packing the goods, and to engage with him afterwards as a superior clerk; promising that, as soon as he should be qualified for the adventure, he would commission him with a cargo of provisions for the West Indies, obtain him certain custom among his friends, and concern himself in his future establishment in a mercantile way. He was to have 50*l.* per annum at the commencement of the engagement; less, he says, than he now earned; but the better future prospects it offered, and the cheerful thoughts of returning home, induced him to close with it.

Franklin gives one trait of this amiable man's character, which must have inspired him with a high sense of his honour. Some years previous to his present appearance in England, he had failed in business at Bristol, and compounded with his creditors. On his return at this time in better circumstances, he invited all of them to an entertainment, which they considered only as a tribute of respect; but on the first remove of the plates, each creditor found upon the table an order on a banker for the payment of the balance originally due to him, with interest to the day.

Franklin passed about eighteen months in London, working hard at his business, improving his knowledge, and extending his acquaintance. But his friend Ralph, his book purchases, and occasionally frequenting the theatre, kept him poor. Twenty-seven pounds out of his earnings went in the first item alone; his fellow-adventurer however seems

by no means to have spared endeavours to succeed in his turn.

The subject of this memoir took leave of the printing business, and closely engaged himself for some weeks in assisting his friend Denham in collecting his freight. They sailed from Gravesend for Philadelphia, 23d July 1726, on board the *Berkshire*, Clerk, master.

The leisure-hours of this voyage were memorable for producing the first draft of Franklin's plan for his conduct in life, which there will be occasion to speak of shortly. His journal, kept throughout the voyage, exhibits the observant character of his mind. The following is a characteristic extract:—

“ Tuesday, August 9.

“ Took our leave of the land this morning. Calms the fore part of the day. In the afternoon, a small gale ; fair. Saw a grampus.

“ Friday, August 19.

“ This day we had a pleasant breeze at East. In the morning, we spied a sail upon our larboard bow, about two leagues distance. About noon, she put out English colours, and we answered with our ensign ; and in the afternoon, we spoke with her. She was a ship of New York, Walter Kippen, master, bound from Rochelle in France, to Boston, with salt. Our captain and Mr D. went on board, and stayed till evening, it being fine weather. Yesterday, complaints being made that a Mr G——n, one of the passengers, had with a fraudulent design marked the cards, a court of justice was called immediately, and he was brought to trial in form. A Dutchman, who could speak no English, deposed by his interpreter, that when our mess was on shore at Cowes, the prisoner at the bar marked all the court cards on the back with a pen.

“ I have sometimes observed, that we are apt to fancy the person that cannot speak intelligibly to us, proportionably stupid in understanding ; and when we

speak two or three words of English to a foreigner, it is louder than ordinary, as if we thought him deaf, and that he had lost the use of his ears as well as his tongue. Something like this, I imagine, might be the case of Mr G——n; he fancied the Dutchman could not see what he was about, because he could not understand English, and therefore boldly did it before his face.

“ The evidence was plain and positive ; the prisoner could not deny the fact, but replied, in his defence, that the cards he marked were not those we commonly played with, but an imperfect pack which he afterwards gave to the cabin-boy. The attorney-general observed to the court, that it was not likely he should take the pains to mark the cards without some ill-design, or some further intention than just to give them, when he had done, to the boy, who understood nothing at all of cards. But another evidence, being called, deposed that he saw the prisoner in the main-top one day, when he thought himself unobserved, marking a pack of cards on the backs, some with the print of a dirty thumb, others with the top of his finger, &c. Now there being but two packs on board, and the prisoner having just confessed the marking of one, the court perceived the case was plain. In fine, the jury brought him in guilty, and he was condemned to be carried up to the round-top, and made fast there, in view of all the ship’s company, during the space of three hours, that being the place where the act was committed, and to pay a fine of two bottles of brandy. But the prisoner resisting authority, and refusing to submit to punishment, one of the sailors stepped up aloft and let down a rope to us, which we, with much struggling, made fast about his middle, and hoisted him up into the air, sprawling, by main force. We let him hang, cursing and swearing, for near a quarter of an hour ; but at length he crying out murder ! and looking black in the face, the rope being overtort about his middle, we thought proper to let him down again ; and our mess have excommunicated him till

he pays his fine, refusing either to play, eat, drink, or converse, with him.

“ *Thursday, August 25.*

“ Our excommunicated shipmate thinking proper to comply with the sentence the court passed upon him, and expressing himself willing to pay the fine, we have this morning received him into unity again. Man is a sociable being, and it is, for ought I know, one of the worst of punishments to be excluded from society. I have read abundance of fine things on the subject of solitude, and I know it is a common boast in the mouths of those that affect to be thought wise, *that they are never less alone than when alone.* I acknowledge solitude an agreeable refreshment to a busy mind; but were these thinking people obliged to be always alone, I am apt to think they would quickly find their very being insupportable to them. I have heard of a gentleman who underwent seven years' close confinement in the Bastile at Paris. He was a man of sense, he was a thinking man; but being deprived of all conversation, to what purpose should he think? For he was denied even the instruments of expressing his thoughts in writing. There is no burden so grievous to man as time that he knows not how to dispose of. He was forced, at last, to have recourse to this invention; he daily scattered pieces of paper about the floor of his little room, and then employed himself in picking them up, and sticking them in rows and figures on the arm of his elbow chair; and he used to tell his friends, after his release, that he verily believed, if he had not taken this method, he should have lost his senses. One of the philosophers, I think it was Plato, used to say, “ That he had rather be the veriest stupid block in nature, than the possessor of all knowledge without some intelligent being to communicate it to.

“ 'Tis a common opinion among the ladies, that if a man is ill-natured, he infallibly discovers it when he is in liquor. But I, who have known many instances

to the contrary, will teach them a more effectual method to discover the natural temper and disposition of their humble servants. Let the ladies make one long sea-voyage with them, and if they have the least spark of ill-nature in them, and conceal it to the end of the voyage, I will forfeit all my pretensions to their favour. The wind continues fair."

CHAPTER II.

Change of circumstances in Philadelphia.—Miss Read married.—The Governor superseded, and ashamed to see him.—Illness of Franklin and his employer.—Death of the latter, and Franklin's return to the printing business.—New engagement with Keimer.—Quarrels with and leaves him, to become a master.—Commences business in partnership, and in a very humble way.—The Junto.—Specimen of his early essays.—Rise of his paper.—Dissolves the partnership, and succeeds gradually on his own account.—Marries.

FRANKLIN and his friend landed at Philadelphia the 11th of October, and found Keith no longer governor, being superseded by major Gordon. He seemed ashamed at meeting Franklin in the streets, but they passed. "I," says he, "should have been equally ashamed myself at meeting Miss Read, had not her family, justly despairing of my return, after reading my letter, advised her to give me up, and marry a potter of the name of Rogers, to which she consented; but he never made her happy, and she soon separated from him, refusing to cohabit with him, or even bear his name, on account of a report which prevailed of his having another wife. His skill in his profession had seduced Miss Read's parents; but he was a bad subject although an excellent workman. He involved himself in debt, and fled, in the year 1727 or 1728, to the West Indies, where he died."

With Keimer appearances had improved; he had a shop well supplied with stationery, various new types, a number of hands, though none good, and seemed to have plenty of printing business. A store in Water-street was taken by Mr Denham, where Franklin attended closely to business, applied himself diligently to accounts, and was very successful in the disposal of goods. The friends lodged and boarded together. "He was sincerely attached to me," Franklin says, "and acted towards me as if he had been my father.—On my side, I respected and

loved him. My situation was happy; but it was a happiness of no long duration."

In February 1727, when the subject of our memoir had just entered his twenty-second year, both were taken suddenly ill. Franklin's disorder was a pleurisy, which brought him to the border of the grave, and from which he suffered so much, that he began, as he says, to consider death as a deliverer, felt a sort of disappointment when he found himself likely to recover, and regretted that he had still to experience, sooner or later, the same disagreeable scene over again.

Denham died, and with him Franklin's expectations of being established in the business they were pursuing; the affairs of this worthy man were in so unsettled a state as to be taken into the hands of his creditors. His friend therefore was once more compelled to look into the wide world for an occupation.

His brother-in-law Holme, being now in Philadelphia, advised his return to the printing business; and Keimer tempted him with an offer of larger wages to take the management of his establishment. Franklin was however disgusted with all he could recollect of his old employer; he had also heard a bad character of him in London from his wife and her friends, and did not wish to have any more connexion with him.

He again sought for employment therefore as a merchant's clerk, but being disappointed, was compelled to close with Keimer's proposals. He found in the printing-house the following hands:—

"Hugh Meredith, a Pennsylvanian, about thirty-five years of age. He had been brought up to husbandry, was honest, sensible, had some experience, and was fond of reading; but too much addicted to drinking.

"Stephen Potts, a young rustic, just broke from school, and of rustic education, with endowments rather above the common order, and a competent portion of understanding and gaiety; but a little idle.

"Keimer had engaged these two at very low wages, which he had promised to raise every three months a shilling a week, provided their improvement in the typographic art should merit it. This future increase of wages was the bait he had made use of to ensnare them. Meredith was to work at the press, and Potts to bind books, which he had engaged to teach them, though he understood neither himself.

"John Savage, an Irishman, who had been brought up to no trade, and whose service for a period of four years Keimer had purchased of the captain of a ship. He was also to be a pressman.

"George Webb, an Oxford scholar, whose time he had in like manner bought for four years, intending him for a compositor. I shall speak more of him presently.

"Lastly, David Harry, a country lad, who was apprenticed to him."

Franklin's natural sagacity had now been improved by experience. "I soon perceived," says he, "that Keimer's intention, in engaging me at a price so much above what he was accustomed to give, was that I might form all these raw journeymen and apprentices, who scarcely cost him any thing, and who, being indentured, would, as soon as they should be sufficiently instructed, enable him to do without me. I nevertheless adhered to my agreement. I put the office in order, which was in the utmost confusion, and brought his people by degrees to pay attention to their work, and to execute it in a more masterly style."

Franklin thought it singular to see an Oxford scholar in the condition of a bought servant. He was not more than eighteen years of age, and related following particulars of himself: "Born at Gloucester, he had been educated at a grammar school, and had distinguished himself among the scholars by his superior style of acting, when they represented dramatic performances. He was a member of a literary club in the town; and some pieces of his composition, in prose as well as in verse, had been inserted

in the Gloucester papers. Hence he was sent to Oxford, where he remained about a year; but he was not contented, and wished above all things to see London, and become an actor. At length, having received fifteen guineas to pay his quarter's board, he decamped with the money from Oxford, hid his gown in a hedge, and travelled to London. There, having no friend to direct him, he fell into bad company, soon squandered his fifteen guineas, could find no way of being introduced to the actors, became contemptible, pawned his clothes, and was in want of bread. As he was walking the streets, almost famished with hunger, and not knowing what to do, a recruiting-bill was put into his hand, which offered an immediate treat and bounty-money to all who were disposed to serve in America. He instantly repaired to the house of rendezvous, enlisted himself, was put on board a ship, and conveyed to America, without even writing a line to inform his parents what was become of him. His mental powers were considerable; he was lively, witty, very agreeable, but very dissipated."

John, the Irishman, soon decamped; and Franklin began to spend his time very pleasantly with the rest. Out of doors, he cultivated his acquaintance with persons of intelligence and consideration. Keimer keeping the seventh day for a Sabbath, and the customs of the city not allowing them to work on Sunday, Franklin now had, or thought he had, two free days for study; all his little circle looked up to him for information, and treated him with great respect; his companions in business especially, as they found Keimer relied wholly upon him, and could himself teach them nothing. His only source of uneasiness was his debt to Vernon, not yet paid; and his savings were too small to afford him hopes of being able to discharge it soon.

Keimer's press being frequently out of order, Franklin was printer's joiner; and when particular types were worn out, as there was at this time no

letter-founder in America, he would contrive to form new letters of lead in matrices of clay, using the old letters for punches, and thus produced tolerable substitutes. He was also occasionally the engraver of various ornaments, made printer's ink, gave an eye to the shop and to the warehouse, and was in every respect a *factotum*. But he was destined to exhibit the versatility of his genius upon a larger scale. Keimer began to speculate upon the possibility of doing without him; became imperious, uncivil, and difficult to please; and on the payment of his second quarter's wages, gave him to understand they were too heavy.

Franklin says he bore with his ill-humour for a length of time patiently, observing his affairs to be deranged. They finally quarrelled, and parted upon the following occasion. Our young printer, hearing a noise in the street, left his work to see what was the matter; which Keimer observing, commanded him, in a noisy, reproachful manner, to return to it.

This taking place in the public street, piqued our philosopher not a little. He went in, the master following. "The quarrel became warm on both sides; and he gave me," says Franklin, "notice to quit him at the expiration of three months, as had been agreed upon between us; regretting that he was obliged to give me so long a term. I told him that his regret was superfluous, as I was ready to quit him instantly; and I took my hat and came out of the house, begging Meredith to take care of some things which I left, and bring them to my lodgings."

In the evening, Meredith came to Franklin; and the conversation naturally turned upon the difference, and the state of Keimer's affairs. Meredith predicted that Franklin's departure would be the master's ruin, as his creditors were already alarmed; and dissuaded him from returning to New England, as he proposed; observing that, by waiting for the opportunity, a vacancy of great advantage to him must soon occur in Philadelphia. When Franklin objected his want of money,

he observed, that his (Meredith's) father had a very high opinion of him, and, from a conversation that had already passed between them, he was sure that he would advance whatever might be necessary to establish them in partnership. "My time with Keimer," added he, "will be at an end next spring. In the mean time, we may send to London for our press and types. I know that I am no workman; but if you agree to the proposal, your skill in the business will be balanced by the capital I shall furnish; and we will share the profits equally." "His proposal was seasonable, and I fell in with it. His father," adds Franklin, "who was then in the town, approved of it. He knew that I had some ascendancy over his son, as I had been able to prevail on him to abstain a long time from drinking brandy; and he hoped that, when more closely connected with him, I should cure him entirely of this unfortunate habit."

The father took a list from Franklin of what would be necessary to furnish an office, which he immediately directed one of the merchants to procure upon his credit; the young men agreeing to keep their arrangement secret until the materials should arrive: our author was to find work in the mean time at the other printing-house. This however he could not obtain; and Keimer, being pressed with some printing from New Jersey, sent a civil message to Franklin, telling him that old friends ought not to be disunited on account of a few words which were the effect of a momentary passion, and inviting him to return. Meredith joined in the invitation, particularly as it would afford him the opportunity of improving himself in the business; and the parties soon lived upon better terms than before their separation.

The New Jersey business was in fact the printing of money-bills for that colony, and required both types and engravings which Keimer could not supply without Franklin's aid. He now therefore had to furnish these as before, and, finally, to repair to Burlington with Keimer, where, the whole being executed

satisfactorily, the latter received a sum of money, which upheld his credit for some time.

Here Franklin's acquaintance became numerous and respectable. Several distinguished persons of the province having been appointed a committee to attend the press, and see that no more bills were printed than were directed by law, they were with Franklin and his employer continually; and the former evidently possessing the more cultivated and fertile mind, a greater value was set on his company and conversation. Franklin was invited to their houses, introduced to their friends, and honoured with civilities from which Keimer was excluded. The subject of our memoir was indeed placed by the side of no very formidable rival; Keimer evinced great practical ignorance of life, was rude in his manners, dirty and slovenly in his person, and enthusiastic in that sort of religion which permitted him to be no small knave. Among his friends, Franklin could, at length, enumerate judge Allen, Bustil, the secretary of the province, Messrs Pearson and Cooper, several of the Smiths, who were members of the assembly, and Isaac Decow, the surveyor-general. These friends, all obtained during the short interval of three months in which he remained at Burlington, continued more or less connected with him during the whole of his future life. Decow was a keen old man, whose history was not greatly dissimilar to that of Franklin. He told him, that when young he was employed in wheeling clay for the brickmakers; that he learnt to write after he was of age; then carried the chain for the surveyors, who taught him their art; and that he had now by his industry acquired a good estate. "I foresee," said he, "that you will soon work this man Keimer out of his business, and make a fortune in it at Philadelphia." At this time he had not the least intimation of Franklin's intention to set up anywhere.

Soon after Franklin's return to Philadelphia, the new types which had been ordered arrived from London. He and Meredith left Keimer, and took a shop near the market-place, the rent of which was

twenty-four pounds a year. To lessen it, they parted off a portion of the house for Thomas Godfrey, a glazier; and had just put their press in order, and expended all their cash, when George House, an acquaintance of Franklin, brought a countryman to them who had been inquiring for a printer. The extent of his first order in business was about five shillings, which Franklin says gave him more pleasure than any equal sum he afterwards earned; and the gratitude which he felt on this occasion, inclined him, oftener than he should have been otherwise disposed, to assist beginners. Some persons however foreboded their speedy downfall. A gentleman named Samuel Mickle, in particular, of a solemn aspect and a very grave manner of speaking, stopped Franklin one day, and asked him if he were the young man who had lately opened a new printing-house? Being answered in the affirmative, he said that he was sorry for him, because Philadelphia was a sinking place, half the people already bankrupts or near being so; and added such a detail of existing and impending misfortunes, that he left Franklin half repentant of his new plans. This person however continued to live in the decaying place he had described, and to declaim in the same strain, refusing for many years to buy a house, because all was going to destruction. "Until at last," says Franklin, "I had the pleasure of seeing him give five times as much for one as he might have bought it for when he first began croaking."

Early in his career as a printer, Franklin formed most of his acquaintance into a club called the JUNTO, which met on Friday evenings; and drew up for them a body of rules, requiring that each member should in his turn produce one or more queries, to be discussed by the company, on any point of morals, politics, or natural philosophy; and should every three months read an essay of his own writing on some subject generally interesting. The meetings of the society were to be conducted by a president, in a sincere spirit of inquiry after truth, without fondness for dispute, or

desire of victory. To prevent distraction or division all positiveness of opinion, direct contradiction, &c., were prohibited under small pecuniary penalties. Some of the early members were—Joseph Breintual, a copier of law-deeds, a friendly, middle-aged man, fond of poetry, and a tolerable composer in that department of the belles-lettres, of sensible conversation, and an ingenious mechanic;—Thomas Godfrey, an able self-taught mathematician, afterwards inventor of what is called Hadley's Quadrant, a man of contracted knowledge upon general subjects, and by no means a pleasing companion: like most other great mathematicians, Franklin says, he expected universal precision, and was for ever denying or distinguishing upon trifles, to the great annoyance of the society: he soon left them;—Nicholas Scull, afterwards surveyor-general, a man of considerable reading, who acquired a considerable share of mathematical knowledge, with a view to the practice astrology, the delusions of which he soon discovered;—William Maguridge, a joiner, an excellent mechanic, and a judicious, worthy man;—Robert Grace, a young gentleman of fortune, who loved punning, and had some pretensions to true wit;—and W. Coleman, a merchant's clerk, "about my own age," says Franklin, "who had the coolest and clearest head, the best heart, and the most exact morals, of almost any man I ever met with." He afterwards became a considerable merchant, and one of the provincial judges. A close friendship subsisted between him and Franklin for a period of forty years. The society continued nearly as long, and was throughout a flourishing school of philosophy, morality, and politics.

The original rules of this institution are worth preserving here, as exhibiting the honest struggles of growing intellect among the members. Instrumental as it was in the formation of many public measures, it existed for nearly thirty years without being publicly known.

Rules for a Club formerly established in Philadelphia.

Previous question, to be answered at every meeting :—

Have you read over these queries this morning, in order to consider what you might have to offer to the Junto touching any one of them ? *viz.*

1. Have you met with any thing in the author you last read, remarkable, or suitable to be communicated to the Junto, particularly in history, morality, poetry, physic, travels, mechanics, arts, or other parts of knowledge ?

2. What new story have you lately heard, agreeable for telling in conversation ?

3. Hath any citizen, in your knowledge, failed in his business lately, and what have you heard of the cause ?

4. Have you lately heard of any citizen's thriving well, and by what means ?

5. Have you lately heard how any present rich man, here or elsewhere, got his estate ?

6. Do you know of any fellow-citizen who has lately done a worthy action, deserving praise and imitation, or who has lately committed an error proper for us to be warned against and avoid ?

7. What unhappy effects of intemperance have you lately observed or heard ; of imprudence, of passion, or of any other vice or folly ?

8. What happy effects of temperance, of prudence, of moderation, or of any other virtue ?

9. Have you, or any of your acquaintance, been lately sick or wounded ? If so, what remedies were used, and what were their effects ?

10. Whom do you know that are shortly going voyages or journies, if we should have occasion to send by them ?

11. Do you think of any thing, at present, in which the Junto may be serviceable to *mankind*, to their country, to their friends, or to themselves ?

12. Hath any deserving stranger arrived in town

since last meeting, that you heard of ; and what have you heard or observed of his character or merits ; and whether, think you, it lies in the power of the Junto to oblige him, or encourage him as he deserves ?

13. Do you know of any deserving young beginner, lately set up, whom it lies in the power of the Junto any way to encourage ?

14. Have you lately observed any defect in the laws of your country, (of) which it would be proper to move the legislature for amendment ; or do you know of any beneficial law that is wanting ?

15. Have you lately observed any encroachment on the just liberties of the people ?

16. Hath any body attacked your reputation lately ; and what can the Junto do towards securing it ?

17. Is there any man whose friendship you want, and which the Junto, or any of them, can procure for you ?

18. Have you lately heard any member's character attacked, and how have you defended it ?

19. Hath any man injured you, from whom it is in the power of the Junto to procure redress ?

20. In what manner can the Junto, or any of them, assist you in any of your honourable designs ?

21. Have you any weighty affair in hand, in which you think the advice of the Junto may be of service ?

22. What benefits have you lately received from any man not present ?

23. Is there any difficulty in matters of opinion, of justice, and injustice, which you would gladly have discussed at this time ?

24. Do you see any thing amiss in the present customs or proceedings of the Junto, which might be amended ?

Any person to be qualified, to stand up, and lay his hand on his breast, and be asked these questions, viz.

1. Have you any particular disrespect to any present members ?

Answer. I have not.

2. Do you sincerely declare that you love mankind in general, of what profession or religion soever?

Answer. I do.

3. Do you think any person ought to be harmed in his body, name, or goods, for mere speculative opinions, or his external way of worship?

Answer. No.

4. Do you love truth for truth's sake? and will you endeavour, impartially, to find and receive it yourself, and communicate it to others?

Answer. Yes.

The business in which Franklin and his friend had embarked succeeded rapidly; all the members of their club exerting themselves to send them work. Breintual alone procured for them, from the Quakers, the printing of forty sheets of their history, the rest being pledged to Keimer. It was a folio, *pro patria* size, in pica, with long-primer notes. Franklin composed a sheet a day, and Meredith worked it off in the evening; the distribution, and other casual jobs, frequently detaining them afterwards till eleven o'clock. Yet so determined was Franklin in doing his sheet per day, that one night having broken his form by accident, and reduced two pages to pie*, he immediately distributed, and composed it over again, before he went to bed. His application to business was soon notorious. The new printing-office being mentioned at the merchants' club, a general opinion was given that it must fail, there being already two printers in the place; but a Dr Baird observed, "The industry of that Franklin is superior to any thing I ever saw: I see him at work when I go home from the club; and he is at it again before his neighbours are out of bed." One gentleman, who had heard this observation, immediately offered to supply the new house with stationery, &c.

George Webb, meeting with a female friend who

* *Pie*—a technical phrase, meaning a mass of types fallen out of their lines or pages into confusion.

lent him money to buy out the remainder of his time from Keimer, now offered himself to Franklin and his partner, as a journeyman. They could not employ him; but Franklin incautiously communicated to him one of his most important designs for the future. He told him that he soon intended to begin a newspaper, and should then have work (the only paper in Philadelphia, at that time, being one printed by Bradford; a wretched, uninteresting thing). Notwithstanding he requested Webb not to mention the circumstance, his intentions were told to Keimer, who immediately published proposals for a new paper, and employed Webb to manage it. Franklin was much displeased at this; but the circumstance only contributed to the developement of his powers, and his more complete success, at last, in the object which he had in view. To counteract Keimer's plans, he wrote several amusing pieces for Bradford's paper, under the title of the "Busy Body." We extract the first of these papers, as a fair specimen of Franklin's attainments at this time in point of style:—

"THE BUSY BODY. No. 1.

"MR ANDREW BRADFORD,—I design this to acquaint you, that I, who have long been one of your courteous readers, have lately entertained some thoughts of setting up for an author myself, not out of the least vanity, I assure you, or desire of showing my parts, but purely for the good of my country.

"I have often observed with concern, that your 'Mercury' is not always equally entertaining. The delay of ships expected in, and want of fresh advices from Europe, make it frequently very dull; and I find the freezing of our river has the same effect on news as on trade. With more concern have I observed the growing vices and follies of my countryfolk; and though reformation is properly the work of every man, that is, every one ought to mend one, yet it is too true, in this case, 'that what is everybody's business is nobody's business;' and the business is done

accordingly. I therefore, upon mature deliberation, think fit to take nobody's whole business into my own hands, and, out of zeal for the public good, design to erect myself into a kind of *censor morum*, purposing to make use of the 'Weekly Mercury' as a vehicle in which, with your allowance, my remonstrances shall be conveyed to the world. I am sensible I have, in this particular, undertaken a very unthankful office, and expect little besides my labour for my pains. Nay, it is probable I may displease a great number of your readers, who will not very well like to pay ten shillings a year for being told of their faults. But as most people delight in censure, when they themselves are not the objects of it, if any are offended at my publicly exposing their private vices, I promise they shall have the satisfaction, in a very little time, of seeing their good friends and neighbours in the same circumstances.

"However, let the fair sex be assured that I shall always treat them and their affairs with the utmost decency and respect. I intend, now and then, to dedicate a chapter wholly to their service; and if my lectures any way contribute to the embellishment of their minds, and brightening their understandings, without offending their modesty, I doubt not of having their favour and encouragement.

"It is certain that no country in the world produces, naturally, finer spirits than ours; men of genius for every kind of science, and capable of acquiring, to perfection, every qualification that is in esteem among mankind. But as few here have the advantage of good books, for want of which good conversation is still more scarce, it would doubtless have been very acceptable to your readers, if, instead of an old out-of-date article from Muscovy or Hungary, you had entertained them with some well-chosen extract from a good author. This I shall sometimes do, when I happen to have nothing of my own to say, that I think of more consequence. Sometimes I purpose to deliver lectures of morality or philosophy; and, because I am

naturally inclined to be meddling with things that do not concern me, perhaps I may sometimes talk of politics. And if I can by any means furnish out a weekly entertainment for the public, that will give a rational diversion, and, at the same time, be instructive to the readers, I shall think my leisure hours well employed; and if you will publish this, I hereby invite all ingenious gentlemen and others (that approve of such an undertaking) to my assistance, and correspondence.

“ It is like, by this time, you have a curiosity to be acquainted with my name and character. As I do not aim at public praise, I design to remain concealed; and there are such numbers of our family and relations at this time in the country, that though I have signed my name at full length, I am not under the least apprehension of being distinguished and discovered by it. My character, indeed, I would favour you with, but that I am cautious of praising myself, lest I should be told my trumpeter is dead; and I cannot find in my heart, at present, to say any thing to my own disadvantage.

“ It is very common with authors in their first performances, to talk to their readers thus:—If this meets with a suitable reception, or if this should meet with due encouragement; I shall hereafter publish, &c. This only manifests the value they put on their own writings, since they think to frighten the public into their applause, by threatening that unless you approve what they have already wrote, they intend never to write again, when perhaps it may not be a pin matter whether they ever do or no. As I have not observed the critics to be unfavourable on this account, I shall always avoid saying anything of the kind, and conclude with telling you, that if you send me a bottle of ink and a quire of paper by the bearer, you may depend on hearing further from

“ Sir,

“ Your most humble servant,

“ THE BUSY BODY.”

The attention of the public became fixed, by means of these papers, on the "Weekly Mercury," and the proposals of Keimer were disregarded; so that before he had carried it on three-quarters of a year, he sold his paper to Franklin, who quickly turned it to great advantage. He introduced, at once, a better type and style of printing, and enlivened it with occasional extracts, and original essays of superior merit. Some remarks on an existing dispute between governor Burnet and the Massachusetts Assembly, in particular, made the paper exceedingly popular, until the leading men of Philadelphia, finding it in the hands of a man of talent, wished to conciliate and oblige him. When therefore Bradford, being the government printer, worked off an address of the House to the Governor in a coarse blundering manner, and Franklin and his partner re-printed it in a style of peculiar neatness, they were voted printers to the House for the year ensuing. On this occasion Mr Hamilton, having returned from England, exerted himself much in their favour.

Vernon about this time put Franklin in mind of the debt he owed him; but on receiving a letter of acknowledgment, requesting a little further forbearance, he desisted from pressing his claim; and in a short time, Franklin paid the principal, with interest. Meredith's father however, who was to have paid for their printing-house, according to agreement, had been able to advance only 100*l.*; and another 100*l.* was due to the merchant, who sued all the parties. Bail was accordingly given, and Franklin had great reasons to fear the money would not be raised in time. In this extremity, two friends of his, William Coleman and Robert Grace, came to his assistance separately, unknown to each other, and without any application from him. Each offered to advance him all the money that should be necessary to enable him to take the business on himself, but objected to his continuing in partnership with Meredith, in consequence of his low and profligate habits. "I told them," says

Franklin, "it would be dishonourable in me to propose a separation while there remained any prospect of the Merediths fulfilling their agreement, because I thought myself under great obligations to them for what they had done already; but if they failed, and the partnership must be dissolved, I must then accept the kind assistance of friends." To Meredith, Franklin shortly after remarked, that perhaps his father was dissatisfied with their partnership arrangements, and would not advance for the firm what he would for his son alone, offering, in such case, to resign the whole to his partner. This the latter declined. "I was bred a farmer," said he, "and it was folly in me to come to town, and put myself, at thirty years of age, apprentice to a new trade. Many of our Welsh people are going to settle in North Carolina: I am inclined to go with them, and follow my old employment." He finally agreed, that if Franklin would pay the debts of the firm, and some small ones of his own, return the 100*l.* advanced, and give him 30*l.* and a new saddle, he would relinquish all his interest in the partnership. This the latter cheerfully acceded to; and, as he wanted money, took half from one of his friends, and half from the other. We are now brought by our narrative to the year 1729.

There being at this time only 1500*l.* paper-currency in the province of Pennsylvania, a clamour arose among the tradesmen and lower orders for more. But the increase was opposed by the opulent part of the community, who imagined it would result in the general depreciation of credit, as it had already done in New England. This point had been discussed in the Junto; and Franklin was on the side of an addition, from a strong persuasion that the sum issued in 1723 had increased the trade, employment, and even population, of the province. "I remembered well," says he, "when I first walked about the streets of Philadelphia, eating my roll, that I saw many houses in some of the most important streets, with bills on their doors, 'to be let,' whereas now I see the old ones

all inhabited, and many new ones building." Shortly after this, he published an anonymous pamphlet, entitled *The Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency*, which was well received; and the opponents of the measure, having no writers among them capable of answering it, the point was carried in the House by a considerable majority; Franklin being appointed to print the money. This was a lucrative job to our author, who lived to see other sums put in circulation on the same principle; trade and population increasing, in the mean time, in full proportion. Mr Hamilton, Franklin's friend, shortly afterwards procured him the printing of the Newcastle paper-money, as well as of the laws and votes of that government, which was continued in his hands as long as he followed the business. About this time he opened a small stationer's shop, and circulated blank bonds, and agreements of all kinds, the most correct that had ever appeared in the province; being indebted for the forms of them to his friend Breintual. He obtained likewise an able compositor, of the name of Whitemash, from London, and took, as an apprentice, the son of Aquila Rose.

To secure his credit and character as a tradesman, Franklin was not only really industrious and frugal, but took great pains to appear so. He dressed plainly, went to no places of public diversion; even his reading was private, so as to form no drawback upon his apparent diligence. He himself frequently brought home in a wheelbarrow the paper purchased at the stores. Being now esteemed an industrious thriving young man, and paying duly for what he bought, the merchants sought his custom; while Keimer's credit declined daily, until at length he sold his printing-house to an apprentice of his, whom Franklin had instructed in the business. The friends of this young man having considerable interest, Franklin was at first apprehensive of a powerful rival, and accordingly proposed a partnership, which, fortunately for him, was rejected with scorn. David Harry became proud, careless of his business, and expensive in his habits,

until his business entirely fell away, and he followed Keimer to Barbadoes. No other printer now remained in Philadelphia but Bradford, who was rich, and cared little about his trade. As he held the post-office, his paper obtained a wider circulation than Franklin's, both from the idea that he must have better opportunities of procuring information, and from his efforts to keep his rival's paper from the public; for Franklin could only receive and send papers by the post by bribing the postmen, Bradford taking care to forbid their taking it out; "a practice," says Franklin, "which I thought so meanly of, that when I afterwards came into the same situation, I took care never to imitate it."

In 1729, Mr and Mrs Godfrey, with whom he boarded (as they still lived in part of his house) proposed a match for him with the daughter of a relative of theirs, whose parents also encouraged the affair, inviting Franklin frequently, and leaving the daughter and him together. Franklin at length commissioned Mrs Godfrey to inform the young lady's friends, that he expected as much money, for a marriage portion, as would pay off the running debt upon his printing-house, to the amount perhaps of 100*l*.; they replied, that they had no such sum to spare, when he suggested that they might obtain it by way of mortgage on their house: but they now abruptly pretended not to approve of the match; said that printing was a poor business; that the types would be soon defaced and useless; that Keimer and Harry having failed in succession, he would, in all probability, shortly do the same, &c. Franklin considered this so unhandsome, that when Mrs Godfrey afterwards brought him more favourable accounts of their disposition towards him, he declared his resolution to have no further connexion with the family; and differences shortly afterwards arose, in consequence of which they left the house.

But Franklin had turned his thoughts seriously to marriage; and after having made overtures in other

places, he found that the business of a printer was in small repute, and that he was not to expect money with a wife. In the mean time, he says, his youthful passions often hurried him into intrigues with low women, which were attended with expense, and occasional disgrace. He resumed his attentions therefore to Miss Read, as he still lived on intimate terms with the family; and when he observed her frequent dejection and solitary habits, could not at times avoid reflecting that his own inconstancy had been their primary cause. Their mutual affection, in fact, was renewed, but there were formidable obstacles in the way of their union. She had married a man who had long forsaken her during Franklin's absence in England; and although the marriage was considered as invalid, the husband being said to have had another wife at the time, there was no actual proof of the circumstance, and the reports of his death could be traced to no certain origin. Besides, he had left many debts, which his successor might be called upon to pay. Notwithstanding these difficulties, Franklin married this lady, September 1730; neither the former claim on her (if any) nor any of its consequences, ever appeared; but he found the union every thing that could contribute to his prosperity and happiness.

About this period, he formed what he justly calls the bold design of endeavouring to arrive in his practice at moral perfection. "As he knew," he says, "or thought he knew, right from wrong, he could not see why he might not always do the one, and avoid the other." Now, therefore, he formed the following scale of virtues and precepts:—

1. **TEMPERANCE.**—Eat not to dulness; drink not to elevation.

2. **SILENCE.**—Speak not but what may benefit others or yourself; avoid trifling conversation.

3. **ORDER.**—Let all your things have their places; let each part of your business have its time.

4. **RESOLUTION.**—Resolve to perform what you ought; perform without fail what you resolve.

5. **FRUGALITY.**—Make no expense but to do good to others, or yourself ; *i. e.*, waste nothing.

6. **INDUSTRY.**—Lose no time ; be always employed in something useful ; cut off all unnecessary actions.

7. **SINCERITY.**—Use no hurtful deceit ; think innocently and justly ; and if you speak, speak accordingly.

8. **JUSTICE.**—Wrong none by doing injuries, or omitting the benefits that are your duty.

8. **MODERATION.**—Avoid extremes ; forbear resenting injuries, so much as you think they deserve.

10. **CLEANLINESS.**—Tolerate no uncleanness in body, clothes, or habitation.

11. **TRANQUILLITY.**—Be not disturbed at trifles, or at accidents common or unavoidable.

12. **CHASTITY.**—

13. **HUMILITY.**—Imitate *Jesus* and *Socrates*.

CHAPTER IV.

Franklin's remarkable scheme of morals and self-discipline.—His journal of virtuous and vicious conduct.—Partial success, frequent failures, recorded.—His scepticism, and religious notions.—The Junto.—Poor Richard's Almanack.—His decided success in business.—A celebrated preacher detected as a plagiarist.—A more celebrated one, Mr Whitfield, at Philadelphia.—Franklin's acquaintance and correspondence with him.—Philosophical inventions and discoveries.—Pennsylvanian fire-places.

WE pause at this period to review his remarkable scheme of self-government, and that plan for establishing his moral habits, for which he has been much applauded. On imbibing the scepticism which Collins and Shaftesbury taught him very early in life, he plainly saw, that if the influence of revealed religion was withdrawn, some severe system of personal discipline must be substituted for it: but he declares, in his old age, that he never was without some religious principles; that he never for instance doubted the being of a God, or that he governed by his providence that world which he made in wisdom; that he always believed the soul of man to be immortal, and would be, here or hereafter, punished or rewarded.

In 1728 he composed a *short liturgy or form of prayer* for his private use, of which the fragment preserved in his family contains many excellent moral sentiments. He adores the Heavenly Majesty for all the mercies of nature, the station of man in the creation, heat and cold, rain and sunshine, and, for delighting in the happiness of his creatures. "Thou art my friend, my father, and my benefactor," he says, "praised be thy name, O God, for ever!" In a short service, of which these sentiments form the introduction, he there purposes to read and meditate on extracts from Ray's *Wisdom of God*, Blackmore on the *Creation*, or Fenelon's demonstration of the

being of a God, or else to spend some time in serious silence, contemplating these themes.

Then to sing Milton's Hymn to the Creator, afterwards to read some moral discourses, or something exciting to moral virtue.

Then to petition "Supreme Goodness" for assistance in eschewing vice and persevering in virtue.

Concluding with thanks for peace and liberty, food and raiment, for the common benefits of life, for friends and their prosperity, for the fewness of his enemies, &c.

To insure the habit of attention to these rules of conduct, he considered it would be best, while aiming at the whole, to devote a week's particular attention to each of the virtues in succession, and determined faithfully to mark in a book, with a little black spot, each day's transgression of that virtue. Thus, in a quarter of a year, he proposed to try his strength upon the whole; proceeding, he says, like a man who, having a garden to weed, does not attempt to eradicate all the bad herbs at once, which would exceed his reach and strength, but works on one of the beds first, and then proceeds to a second.

His idea of order requiring that every part of his business should have its appointed time, he thus divided the twenty-four hours of an ordinary day:—

Rise at five. Ask the question, What good shall I do this day? Until seven—wash, address Powerful Goodness, contrive day's business, take the resolution of the day, prosecute the present study, and breakfast. Eight to eleven—work. Twelve to one—read or look over accounts, and dine. Two to five—work. Six to nine—ask, What good have I done to day? put things in their places; supper; music; diversion or conversation; examination of the day. Ten to four—sleep.

Our author honestly confesses the abundance of his faults upon this scheme. After a while, he went through one course only in a year, then one in several years, till at length the multiplicity of his affairs, as

he says, voyages abroad, &c. caused him to neglect it altogether. In his old age however he records, that while, with respect to order, he was from the first almost incorrigible, to the fair portion of the other virtues which he attained by this method he owed the whole of his success in public and private life.

He once proposed to have enlarged the scheme with a book containing comments on each precept, to be called the "Art of Virtue," but never completed the design. He tells us however, that his leading moral doctrine would have been, *that vice is not hurtful because it is forbidden, but forbidden because it is hurtful*. His basis of morality was therefore self-interest. The great question is, whether he had eyes and heart to view that interest in a sufficiently elevated point of view.

The Junto agreed, about this time, to unite their separate stock of books, and thus to form a library, to which the members should have common access, the place of their meeting (or hired-room) being the repository. By this means, it was thought, they would be able more readily to refer to authorities during their friendly debates, and every member would have the advantage of perusing the books of all the rest. But the scheme did not work well: each thought his books worthy of more care than they met with; and after a year's trial the plan was relinquished. It suggested however to Franklin the idea of a public library. He proposed to erect fifty subscribers of 40s. into a company, who were also to pay 10s. a year afterwards for fifty years, the proposed period of its duration. By the help of the Junto, the fifty shares were quickly taken up: the scheme became popular; and the company afterwards increasing to one hundred shareholders, they obtained a charter. This institution, we are told, was the parent of all those numerous subscription libraries which now prevail in North America, and which Franklin, with an excusable vanity,

describes as having materially improved the conversation of the Americans, diffused universal knowledge amongst the farmers and tradesmen, and contributed, in no small degree, to that assertion of the civil rights of the colonies which resulted in their final independence.

At this time there was not a good bookseller's shop in any of the American colonies south of Boston; there were printers and stationers in New York and Philadelphia, but they sold only paper, ballads, almanacks, &c.: people disposed to read used to be under the necessity of sending for their books from England. The new library was open one day in the week, for the purpose of lending books to the subscribers, on their promissory notes to pay double the value if they were not duly returned. And Franklin observes, in after-life, that the objections he met with in soliciting the subscriptions, made him feel the impropriety of presenting *himself* as the proposer of any useful project that might be supposed to raise his reputation above his neighbour. "I therefore," says he, "put myself as much as I could out of sight, and stated it as a scheme of *a number of friends* who had requested me to go about and propose it to such as they thought lovers of reading. In this way my affairs went on more smoothly, and I ever after practised it on such occasions, and from my frequent success can heartily recommend it. The present little sacrifice of vanity will afterwards be amply repaid. If it remains awhile uncertain to whom the merit belongs, some one more vain than yourself would be encouraged to claim it, and then even envy will be disposed to do you justice, by plucking those assumed feathers, and restoring them to their right owner." Franklin's personal advantages from this library were not small; he imported the books, and freely used them for private study; thus at once accelerating his fortune and his mental improvement, and repairing the loss of that learned education which was once intended for him. His circumstances

from the period of which we are writing, became daily easier; and reflecting often on what his father used to impress upon him in youth—"Seest thou a man diligent in his calling; he shall stand before kings, he shall not stand before mean men,"—he lived in his advanced age to realize this proverb in a remarkable manner. "I did not think," says he, "that I should ever literally stand before kings, which however has since happened; for I have stood before five, and even had the honour of sitting down with one, the king of Denmark, to dinner."

Franklin describes his wife as equally frugal and diligent with himself. She assisted him in his business, folding and stitching pamphlets, tending the shop, and making small purchases for him in the way of trade. He kept no idle servants, his table was plain and simple, and his furniture homely. His breakfast, for instance, was bread and milk; and he ate it out of a twopenny earthen porringer, with a pewter spoon, indulging himself with no tea. But one morning our philosopher discovered a china bowl with a silver spoon, upon his breakfast table, which cost twenty-three shillings. These were bought for him, without his knowledge, by Mrs Franklin, who had only the sound apology to make, that she thought *her* husband deserved a silver spoon and china bowl as well as any of his neighbours! This, he says, was the first appearance of plate and china in his house.

In 1732 he published his *Almanack*, which was continued about twenty-five years under the name of "Richard Sanders," and commonly called *Poor Richard's Almanack*. The work was replete with useful information, and particularly suited to the thin and rising population of the colonies. It soon came into general demand, and Franklin vended annually ten thousand copies. In his own precise and clear way, he filled all the spaces that occurred between the remarkable days in the Calendar with proverbial sentences, inculcating particularly honesty and frugality, adapted to the circumstances of

all readers. "*It is hard for an empty sack to stand upright,*" was one of these proverbs. "God helps them that help themselves;" "he that lives upon hope will die fasting;" "at the working man's door hunger looks in, but dares not enter,"—were others. In the Almanack of 1757, he brought all these scattered counsels together, and formed them into a connected discourse, as the harangue of a wise old man to the people attending an auction, and entitled them, "*The Way to Wealth.*" This piece has been printed in all the principal languages of Europe, in a variety of forms. We subjoin the whole in our Appendix*, nothing of a more characteristic nature having proceeded from our author's pen.

In the conduct of his newspaper, as a vehicle of public instruction, Franklin also acted with his usual good sense and promptitude; as far as it was compatible with the free discussion of public measures, he carefully excluded personal attacks. To the pleas of some zealots for a different course, his reply was curious. They would urge, he says, the liberty of the press, and that a newspaper, like a stage-coach, should afford a place to all who would pay for it. His answer was, that he would furnish copies of the objectionable pieces for the private distribution of the parties (thus preserving their good will) but not intrude on his subscribers what might be private scandal, or might be deemed so. His selections from the Spectator and other works were very attractive to readers of such limited education and means of knowledge as surrounded him; while his own original contributions evinced the rapid growth of his intellect. He particularizes a Socratic dialogue, and a discourse on self-denial, as amongst his most successful essays. The subjects were characteristic of the writer; the former being designed to prove, that no vicious man could be, strictly, a man of sense; and the latter, that virtue was not secure until its prac-

* See Appendix, No. 1

tice became habitual, and free from the dominion of contrary desires.

He was a strong advocate for women of the middle classes being taught the practice of reading, writing, and accounts, in preference to music, dancing, and unsuitable accomplishments. Of the importance of this he supplies an instance from his own observation. A journeyman of his was sent by him to Charlestown, Carolina, where a printer was much wanted, provided with a press, type, &c. on an agreement of partnership, according to which, Franklin was to have one-third of the final profits of the trade. He was a well-educated young man, but ignorant of accounts, and while he lived, they were never regularly remitted; but at his death, his wife (educated in Holland) gave the clearest statement of all the past transactions he had ever managed, and conducted the business in future with the greatest punctuality and success; so that, after bringing up a large family respectably, she was finally able to buy the printing-house for her son.

In 1733, he began to turn his attention to the acquirement of languages, and became familiar with the French, Italian, and Spanish, successively. From these he proceeded to regain and extend his knowledge of Latin, in which he never had more than one year's instruction, he observes, in the early part of life. Here the unexpected facility which he derived from his acquaintance with the European languages, urged him to suspect that boys are wrongly put to Latin first. It is, as he states, as if we were placed on the top of a flight of stairs, at once, for the sake of walking down them easily; whereas, if we begin at the lower, we shall most easily reach the top. But surely he argues too precisely from his own case.—His object was simply the acquirement of certain languages, and he brought to their study a mind unusually disciplined. Boys are easily taught the classical languages, and especially Latin, as a *means* of mental discipline, and because the form and

structure of that language will, at the same time, facilitate the acquirement of every other.

Affluence, never better deserved, now shone upon our aspiring tradesman: when, having been ten years absent from Boston, he made a second journey to visit his relations. He called at Newport on his return, to see his brother James, who had removed thither with his printing-office; their meeting was cordial, and all former differences were forgotten. His brother, being in a declining state of health, requested him to take a nephew under his charge, and bring him up to the printing business; a kindness which Franklin nobly considered to have been a matter of some "justice" to his brother, in recompense for the disadvantage he sustained from his leaving his service so abruptly.

About this time our author became acquainted with a young preacher of the Presbyterian persuasion, who came to Philadelphia in 1734, and who, with all Franklin's scepticism, attracted much of his attention. Gifted with a sonorous voice, he delivered extempore moral discourses of a very superior description, which drew large congregations, composed of all classes of the citizens. Franklin's attention was fixed by the absence of all peculiar religious dogmas, which distinguished them, and which soon drew down upon the preacher the censure of his brethren. The synod of the province was moved to sit upon his supposed delinquency as a heterodox preacher; when Franklin publicly espoused his cause, and became the chief champion in a paper war which was undertaken by his hearers in his defence.

But a most untoward discovery of the opposing party turned the tide of popular applause. One of the orator's best sermons was traced to a review imported from England, in which it was quoted almost verbatim from the celebrated Dr Foster. On this being known, all his other friends abandoned his cause; but Franklin slyly argued, "that he rather approved of his giving good sermons of other people's

composition, than bad ones of his own." The man afterwards owned that none of his discourses were original, and left Philadelphia in disgrace. With him Franklin finally left off attendance on public worship.

To avoid perplexing applications for admittance, the institution of the Junto had hitherto been kept as much a secret as possible. But its members were now too conscious of its advantages, or too well disposed to exhibit them, to be restrained by Franklin's quieter policy of confining their number to twelve. He therefore proposed the following plan for the virtual extension of the club, without sacrificing its original principles. Every member of the old institution was to endeavour separately to form a Junto under his own direction, subordinate to that institution. He was not to disclose to the new establishment the operation of the parent society, but to communicate to the latter whatever interesting information, and all the advantages of new connexions, which could be derived from the former. Here was therefore a system of concentric clubs, through which large portions of the Philadelphians might be influenced in political and private, as well as literary, matters. It promoted the direct interests of the members in their respective pursuits of life, while it increased their stores of knowledge and sources of amusement; and though not more than half the designed number of subordinate clubs was formed, Franklin constantly availed himself of their influence to feel the public pulse, and carried measures, by their assistance, which would otherwise have failed. Indeed, we cannot help tracing to these favourite social schemes of our author, much of his subsequent influence and consequence in America.

In 1736, the subject of our memoir was unanimously chosen clerk of the Pennsylvanian Assembly. This, though a subordinate political post (giving him no vote in the proceedings) introduced him to the public business of the colonies in its most important forms, as well as to the personal acquaintance of all

the members of the house; and, by securing him the public printing and other business, was every way conducive to his prosperity.

His re-election in 1737 being opposed by a new member of some consequence (though ultimately carried), he furnishes us with one of his characteristic recipes for conciliating an honest and powerful foe. The gentleman in question, like Franklin, collected books; and the latter, hearing that he possessed a scarce and curious volume, politely requested the loan of it for a few days. It was sent immediately, and Franklin returned it in a week, with another note, expressing his obligation to the owner; who, when they resumed their respective posts in the assembly, noticed Mr Franklin politely, which he had never before done; and ever afterwards acted as his friend. 'He that has once done you a kindness,' says our philosopher, 'will be more ready to do you another than he whom you yourself have obliged.'

Bradford, Franklin's competitor in the publication of a newspaper, being deprived of his office of deputy postmaster at Philadelphia in 1737, colonel Spottswood, the postmaster-general, gave the appointment to the latter, who readily availed himself of its advantages for facilitating the circulation of his paper, and improving his connexions throughout the province.

Shortly afterwards, his easy circumstances, combined with his influence in the Juntos, induced him to propose certain public improvements, the consequences of which will be felt in Philadelphia to remote ages. The most important of his early measures of this kind, was the establishment of a fire-company. His plans were directed rather to the prevention of this awful calamity, than to any scheme of insurance against actual loss. He first drew up and circulated remarks on the carelessness both of principals and servants in respect to fire, accompanied with suggestions for the better preventing of accidents, and for rendering prompt assistance in

case of conflagration. Attention being excited to the subject, he now suggested the formation of a company, each of the members of which should engage to keep a certain number of leathern buckets, and baskets and bags for packing goods, which were to be sent to any fire; the number of members not to be more than could conveniently meet once a month, and spend an evening in the discussion of those topics. When, therefore, more than thirty citizens were willing to unite, they were advised to form a distinct company; and thus arose a number of associations, which included nearly all the respectable inhabitants. Attendance upon the meetings of these useful conclaves was enforced by small fines, which were devoted to the increase and repairs of the engines, ladders, &c. Philadelphia became, by means of these institutions, remarkable for its general security from fire; never losing, says Franklin, for a space of fifty years, more than one or two houses at a time by that calamity, and this but seldom.

Another of his early public efforts was the regulation of the night-police. This was also effected through the discussions of the Junto. The old plan was, for the constables of the day to summon a number of the householders indiscriminately, to act as a night-watch; those who chose to be exempted paying them a compliment of six shillings a year. Franklin objected to the irregularity with which this tax pressed upon the public, being levied upon all housekeepers, independent of the value of their property, and subject to the constant abuse of bad substitutes being provided. He therefore proposed the hiring of competent men, who should constantly serve, and be remunerated by an *ad valorem* tax impartially levied. The Assembly of the province afterwards embodied Franklin's original ideas into a law of this kind.

Our narrative now conducts us to a connexion between two of the most remarkable characters of the 18th century, the sceptical FRANKLIN, and the enthusiastic WHITFIELD. The latter was, in 1739,

returning to Georgia from England (where he had just obtained priest's orders) having previously made a considerable impression, in the Trans-Atlantic Continent, in favour of his orphan-house in that state. He had been, in England, too bold or too irregular to be fully allowed the use of their pulpits by the clergy; and the same objections to his peculiar strain of preaching followed him to Philadelphia. Our philosopher however was not to be deterred by the example of the great or the interested; and though never himself a powerful speaker, he seems throughout life to have admired and duly appreciated good oratory. He decidedly ranks Whitfield among the most efficient of the public speakers with whom he ever came in contact; he regularly attended him to the fields, to which he was now driven, and amused himself with observing his progressive influence, and the number of his hearers. "It was matter of speculation to me," he says, "to observe the extraordinary influence of his oratory on his hearers, and how much they admired and respected him, notwithstanding his common abuse of them, by assuring them they were naturally half beasts and half devils;" but he testifies that the revolution effected on the public mind at Philadelphia was as unquestionable as it was creditable to the talent which produced it. Sometimes he gathered a quiet and most extensive congregation in the streets of Philadelphia; and Mr Franklin, on one of these occasions, was at the pains of ascertaining the possible radius of a semicircle throughout which he could be distinctly heard. Whitfield took his station on the steps of the court-house in Market-street; and Franklin, retiring backward as far as he could plainly distinguish the preacher's voice, found it possible to do so to Front-street, which gave, as he calculated, an area that would accommodate more than thirty thousand hearers, allowing two square feet for each person. Franklin particularly admired the distinctness of his articulation and the energy of his manner;

and exhibited in his own conduct a fair instance of Whitfield's success, as an advocate for works of charity. He had advised him to build his orphan-house at Philadelphia, rather than in the state of Georgia, as it would be much easier to transfer the children to the former place, than materials and workmen to the latter; but Whitfield rejected his counsel, and therefore Franklin refused to contribute to his scheme. In this temper he attended one of his charity sermons for the funds of the orphan-house; and having in his pocket a handful of copper money, three or four dollars in silver, and five pistoles in gold, he resolved to give him no part of them. In the progress of the sermon, Whitfield so far shook his resolution, that our philosopher determined to afford him the copper; at another successful stroke of his oratory, the silver he thought must go; and so admirable was the final appeal, "that I emptied my pockets wholly," he says, "into the collector's dish, gold and all!" We do not remember to have met with a fairer proof of the triumph of clerical eloquence than this. Franklin was ordinarily of no enthusiastic temperament; he was, on this occasion, averse from the immediate object of the preacher, and indifferent, at least, to the religious basis of his arguments.

We must give our readers an instance of superior caution in this affair, on the part of one of Franklin's friends. This gentleman, being of the same opinion as Franklin about the Georgian orphan-house, emptied his pocket before he left home, lest he should be led into temptation. But being moved at the meeting equally with his friend, he applied to a Quaker who stood by, for a loan of money to contribute. 'Any other time, friend Hopkinson,' he replied, 'I would lend to thee freely; but now, for thou seemest to me to be out of thy right senses.' By frequently hearing him, Franklin asserts, he could accurately distinguish the sermons Mr Whitfield had delivered repeatedly, from those which were composed

for the occasion ; and he gave a decided preference to the former ; certain points of the argument and emphatical passages being pressed with a dexterity much improved by repetition, until every accent and modification of the voice, he says, was in inimitable musical cadence.

Franklin became an intimate private acquaintance of Whitfield, and took an active part in procuring a large covered building for the accommodation of his congregation. On a subsequent occasion he offered to accommodate him at his house during his stay at Philadelphia, and continued to correspond with him at intervals during the rest of the preacher's life. He says nobly, that while some of his enemies affected to suppose Whitfield had sinister views in his public collections, he, who knew him intimately (being employed in printing his sermons, journals, &c.) never suspected it, but believed him to be in all his conduct decidedly an honest man. Franklin however blames him for committing himself so often to paper, and contends that he would have left a much more numerous and respectable body of admirers, had he never written any thing for the press. The following letter is too characteristic of the writer, and too excellent in its sentiments, to be here omitted :—

Mr FRANKLIN to the Rev. GEORGE WHITFIELD.

Philadelphia, June 6, 1753.

SIR,—I received your kind letter of the 2nd instant, and am glad to hear that you increase in strength. I hope you will continue mending till you recover your former health and firmness. Let me know whether you still use the cold bath, and what effect it has.

As to the kindness you mention, I wish it could have been of more service to you. But if it had, the only thanks I should desire is, that you would always be equally ready to serve any other person that may

need your assistance, and so let good offices go round, for mankind are all of a family.

For my own part, when I am employed in serving others, I do not look upon myself as conferring favours, but as paying debts. In my travels, and since my settlement, I have received much kindness from men to whom I shall never have any opportunity of making the least direct return, and numberless mercies from God, who is infinitely above being benefited by our services. Those kindnesses from men I can therefore only return to their fellow-men, and I can only shew my gratitude for these mercies from God, by a readiness to help his other children, and my brethren. For I do not think that thanks and compliments, though repeated weekly, can discharge our real obligations to each other, and much less those to our Creator. You will see, in this my notion of good works, that I am far from expecting to merit heaven by them. By heaven we understand a state of happiness, infinite in degree, and eternal in duration. I can do nothing to deserve such rewards. He that, for giving a draught of water to a thirsty person, should expect to be paid with a good plantation, would be modest in his demands, compared with those who think they deserve heaven for the little good they do on earth. Even the mixed imperfect pleasures we enjoy in this world, are rather from God's goodness than our merit : how much more such happiness of heaven ! For my part, I have not the vanity to think I deserve it, the folly to expect it, nor the ambition to desire it ; but content myself in submitting to the will and disposal of that God who made me, who has hitherto preserved and blessed me, and in whose fatherly goodness I may well confide, that he will never make me miserable, and that even the afflictions I may at any time suffer shall tend to my benefit.

The faith you mention has certainly its use in the world. I do not desire to see it diminished, nor would I endeavour to lessen it in any man. But I

wish it were more productive of good works than I have generally seen it. I mean real good works; works of kindness, charity, mercy, and public spirit; not holiday-keeping, sermon-reading and hearing; performing church ceremonies, or making long prayers filled with flatteries and compliments, despised even by wise men, and much less capable of pleasing the Deity. The worship of God is a duty; the hearing and reading of sermons may be useful; but if men rest in hearing and praying, as too many do, it is as if a tree should value itself on being watered and putting forth leaves, though it never produced fruit.

Your great Master thought much less of these outward appearances and professions, than many of his modern disciples. He preferred the *doers* of the word to the mere *hearers*; the son that seemingly refused to obey his father, and yet performed his commands, to him that professed his readiness but neglected the work; the heretical but charitable Samaritan to the uncharitable though orthodox priest, and sanctified Levite; those who gave food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, raiment to the naked, entertainment to the stranger, and relief to the sick, though they never heard of his name, he declares shall in the last day be accepted; when those who cry, Lord! Lord! who value themselves upon their faith, though great enough to perform miracles, but have neglected good works, shall be rejected. He professed that he came not to call the righteous, but sinners, to repentance; which implied his modest opinion that there were some in his time who thought themselves so good, that they need not hear even him for improvement; but now-a-days we have scarce a little parson that does not think it the duty of every man within his reach to sit under his petty ministrations, and that whoever omits them offends God. I wish to such more humility, and to you health and happiness; being

Your friend and servant,
B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin acted in every thing upon system, as far as his knowledge and opportunities permitted. His partnership business at Charlestown having fully answered his expectations, he carried out the principle on a wider scale, in proportion as he found neighbouring colonies in want of printers. The plan he adopted was, to select one of the most competent and discreet of his own workmen, and enter into explicit articles of partnership with him for six years; Franklin furnishing all the capital for materials, &c. in the first instance, and his partner devoting himself to procure and conduct the business. He speaks with great satisfaction of the general issue of these engagements; they remunerated him for his money, and established several respectable families in the different colonies; most of his partners being able to purchase his interest at the end of their term, and the connexion ending in all cases, he assures us, with personal good-will. Men of business will consider this no slight proof both of his discretion and good fortune. In his personal narration, he endeavours to show from these circumstances, the importance of very specific articles being in all cases drawn up between partners in trade.

His situation in the capital of Pennsylvania gave Franklin full opportunity for the display of his powers as a rising tradesman, politician, and philosopher:—points of his character essentially depending on each other. He was too prudent not to secure first (let all men of business observe) those pecuniary advantages, and that opulent ease, by which alone he could have become the important public man we find him. His newspaper, about the year 1740, was almost the only one in great demand in the central states of America, and became very lucrative; he therefore found the pleasing truth of one of his proverbial sayings, that “after getting the first hundred pounds, it is much easier to get the second, and realize, at least, three-fourths of another. Learning is to the studious, riches to the careful; as well as favour to the bold, and heaven to the virtuous.”

In 1742 Franklin launched his first practical invention in philosophy, by presenting a friend, Mr. Robert Green, of Philadelphia, with the model of an open stove for the better warming of rooms and economy of fire-wood, pit-coal being unknown at this period, as an article of fuel, in that city; and he published, shortly after, a pamphlet to promote its use, entitled "An account of the new invented Pennsylvanian fire-places, wherein their construction and manner of operation is particularly explained; their advantages above every other method of warming rooms demonstrated; and all objections that have been raised against the use of them answered and obviated."

The provincial governor of the day, Mr Thomas, offered our philosopher a patent for his invention, which he respectfully declined. It rewarded him sufficiently, he states, that his friend Grace, for one, should find it useful to him in the way of trade; and with regard to the public, he argued that our personal advantages from the inventions of others should induce us to communicate to the world, as freely as possible, any discoveries we may be enabled to make. Although, therefore, in England his invention was not only pirated, but a patent granted to an ironmonger for the sale of it, with some slight alteration (which was no improvement) Franklin allowed the trick to succeed, hating disputes, as he says, and determined not to profit by patents. On this same principle, he afterwards suffered several patents to be worked from his invention, without any compensation.

CHAPTER V.

Franklin's efforts to promote public education.—Military schemes for the defence of the province of Pennsylvania.—Management of the Quakers.—Establishment of the university of Philadelphia.—Commences his experiments on electricity.—Employed in negotiations with the Indians, and as a commissioner to settle the joint defence of the colonies.—Albany meeting, and plans of an union between the colonies.

No philosopher of ancient or modern times ever more fully perceived than our author the natural union between knowledge and virtue; we now therefore find him occupied with various projects for enlightening the public mind. His first effort of this kind was for the formation of an academy in 1743; but the only gentleman in Philadelphia whom he considered competent as a principal, declining to act, the undertaking was suspended for a short period. But in 1744 another project of his, the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, was more fortunate, and soon ranked amongst its members all the leading persons of the province.

In the same year he was the patriotic advocate of the rights and liberties of his country. A Spanish privateer having ascended the bay of Delaware as high as Newcastle, our author thought of the defenceless state of the capital, and published a pamphlet called "Plain Truth, or serious considerations on the present state of the city of Philadelphia, and provinces of Pennsylvania, by a tradesman of Philadelphia," exposing their dangers, and exhorting his fellow-citizens to prompt and united measures for the public defence. The characteristic soundness of the author's reasoning, and the remarkable effect produced by it, induce us to give an extract.

"The enemy," says he, "no doubt have been told, that the people of Pennsylvania are Quakers, and are against all defence, from a principle of conscience; this, though true of a part, and that a small part only,

of the inhabitants, is commonly said of the whole; and what may make it look probable to strangers is, that in fact nothing is done by any part of the people towards their defence. But to refuse defending one's self, or one's country, is so unusual a thing among mankind, that possibly they may not believe it, till by experience they find they can come higher and higher up our river, seize our vessels, land, and plunder our plantations and villages, and retire with their booty unmolested. Will not this confirm the report, and give them the greatest encouragement to strike one bold stroke for the city, and for the whole plunder of the river?

"It is said by some, that the expense of a vessel to guard our trade would be very heavy, greater than perhaps all the enemy can be supposed to take from us at sea would amount to; and that it would be cheaper for the government to open an insurance office, and pay all losses. But is this right reasoning? I think not; for what the enemy takes is clear loss to us, and gain to him; increasing his riches and strength, as much as it diminishes ours, so making the difference of double; whereas, the money paid our own tradesmen for building and fitting out a vessel of defence remains in the country, and circulates among us; what is paid to the officer and seamen that navigate her is also spent ashore, and soon gets into other hands; the farmer receives the money for her provisions, and, on the whole, nothing is clearly lost to the country but her wear and tear, or as much as she sells for, at the end of the war, less than her first cost. This loss, and a trifling one it is, is all the inconvenience; but how many and how great are the conveniences and advantages! And should the enemy, through our supineness, and neglect to provide for the defence both of our trade and country, be encouraged to attempt this city, and after plundering us of our goods, either burn it, or put it to ransom, how great would that loss be! besides the confusion, terror, and

distress, so many hundreds of families would be involved in!

“The thought of this latter circumstance so much affects me, that I cannot forbear expatiating somewhat more upon it. You have, my dear countrymen and fellow-citizens, riches to tempt a considerable force to unite and attack you, but are under no ties or engagements to unite for your defence. Hence, on the first alarm, terror will spread over all; and as no man can with certainty depend that another will stand by him, beyond doubt every man will seek safety by a speedy flight. Those that are reputed rich will flee, through fear of torture to make them produce more than they are able. The man that has a wife and children will find them hanging on his neck, beseeching him with tears to quit the city, and save his life, to guide and protect them in that time of general desolation and ruin. All will run into confusion, amidst cries and lamentations, and the hurry and disorder of departers carrying away their effects. The few that remain will be unable to resist. *Sacking* the city will be the first, and *burning* it, in all probability, the last act of the enemy. This, I believe, will be the case, if you have timely notice. But what must be your condition, if suddenly surprised, without previous alarm, perhaps in the night! Confined to your houses, you will have nothing to trust to but the enemy's mercy. Your best fortune will be, to fall under the power of commanders of king's ships, able to control the mariners; and not into the hands of *licentious privateers*. Who can, without the utmost horror, conceive the miseries of the latter? when your persons, fortunes, wives, and daughters, shall be subject to the wanton and unbridled rage, rapine, and lust, of negroes, mulattoes, and others, the vilest and most abandoned of mankind. A dreadful scene! which some may represent as exaggerated. I think it my duty to warn you: judge for yourselves.”

Afterwards he expostulates with the Quakers:—

“On whom may we fix our eyes with the least expectation that they will do any thing for our security? Should we address that wealthy and powerful body of people, who have ever since the war governed our elections, and filled almost every seat in our assembly? Should we entreat them to consider, if not as friends, at least as legislators, that *protection* is as truly due from the government to the people, as *obedience* from the people to the government; and that if, on account of their religious scruples, they themselves could not act for our defence, yet they might retire, relinquish their power for a season, quit the helm to freer hands, chosen by their own interest too, whose prudence and moderation, with regard to them, they might safely confide in; secure, from their own native strength, of resuming again their present station, whenever it shall please them? Should we remind them, that the public money, raised *from all*, belongs *to all*; that since they have, for their own ease, and to secure themselves in the quiet enjoyment of their religious principles (and may they long enjoy them!) expended such large sums to oppose petitions, and engage favourable representations of their conduct, if they themselves could by no means be free to appropriate any part of the public money for our defence, yet it would be no more than justice, to spare us a reasonable sum for that purpose, which they might easily give to the king’s use as heretofore, leaving all the appropriation to others, who would faithfully apply it as we desired? Should we tell them, that though the treasury be at present empty, it may soon be filled by the outstanding debts collected, or at least credit might be had for such a sum, on a single vote of the assembly? that though *they* themselves may be resigned and easy under this naked, defenceless state of the country, it is far otherwise with a very great part of the people—with *us*, who can have no confidence that God will protect those who neglect the use of rational means for their security, nor have any reason to hope that our losses; if we

should suffer any, may be made up by collections in our favour at home. Should we conjure them by all the ties of neighbourhood, friendship, justice, and humanity, to consider these things; and what distraction, misery, and confusion, what desolation and distress, may possibly be the effect of their *unseasonable* predominancy and perseverance? Yet all would be in vain; for they have already been, by great numbers of the people, petitioned in vain. Our late governor did for years solicit, and request, and even threaten, them in vain. The council have since twice remonstrated to them in vain. Their religious prepossessions are unchangeable, their obstinacy invincible. Is there then the least hope remaining, that from that quarter any thing should arise for our security? And is our prospect better, if we turn our eyes to the strength of the opposite party, those great and rich men, merchants and others, who are ever railing at Quakers for doing what their principles seem to require, and what in charity we ought to believe they think their duty, but take no one step themselves for the public safety? They have so much wealth and influence, if they would use it, that they might easily, by their endeavours and example, raise a military spirit among us, make us fond, studious of, and expert in, martial discipline, and effect every thing that is necessary, under God, for our protection. But *envy* seems to have taken possession of their hearts, and to have eaten out and destroyed every generous, noble, public-spirited sentiment. *Rage* at the disappointment of their little schemes for power gnaws their souls, and fills them with such cordial hatred to their opponents, that every proposal, by the execution of which *those* may receive benefit as well as themselves, is rejected with indignation. 'What,' say they, 'shall we lay out our money to protect the trade of Quakers? Shall we fight to defend Quakers? No; let the trade perish, and the city burn; let what will happen, we shall never lift a finger to prevent it.' Yet the Quakers have *conscience* to plead for their

resolution not to fight, which these gentlemen have not. Conscience with you, gentlemen, is on the other side of the question: conscience enjoins it as a *duty* on you (and indeed I think it such on every man) to defend your country, your friends, your aged parents, your wives, and helpless children; and yet you resolve not to perform this duty, but act contrary to your own consciences, because the Quakers act according to theirs. Till of late, I could scarce believe the story of him who refused to pump in a sinking ship, because one on board, whom he hated, would be saved by it as well as himself. But such, it seems, is the unhappiness of human nature, that our passions, when violent, often are too hard for the united force of reason, duty, and religion."

We must subjoin the conclusion of this spirited piece, as containing a strong eulogium on that parent country against which Franklin afterwards was called to act so much like an enemy:—

"All we want is order, discipline, and a few cannon. At present we are like the separate filaments of flax before the thread is formed, without strength, because without connexion; but union would make us strong, and even formidable, though the great should neither help nor join us; though they should even oppose our uniting, from some mean views of their own, yet, if we resolve upon it, and it please God to inspire us with the necessary prudence and vigour, it may be effected. Great numbers of our people are of British race; and though the fierce fighting animals of those happy islands are said to abate their native fire and intrepidity, when removed to a foreign clime, yet with the people it is not so; our neighbours of New England afford the world a convincing proof, that Britons, though a hundred years transplanted, and to the remotest parts of the earth, may yet retain, even to the third and fourth descent, that zeal for the public good, that military prowess, and that undaunted spirit, which has in every age distinguished their nation. What numbers

have we likewise of *those brave people* whose fathers in the last age made so glorious a stand for our religion and liberties, when invaded by a powerful French army, joined by Irish Catholics, under a bigoted popish king! Let the memorable siege of Londonderry, and the signal actions of the Inniskillingers, by which the heart of that prince's schemes was broken, be perpetual testimonies of the courage and conduct of those noble warriors! Nor are there wanting amongst us thousands of *that warlike nation* whose sons have, ever since the time of Cæsar, maintained that character he gave their fathers, of joining the most *obstinate courage* to all the other military virtues: I mean the brave and steady Germans, numbers of whom have actually borne arms in the service of their respective princes; and if they fought well for their tyrants and oppressors, would they refuse to unite with us in defence of their newly-acquired and most precious liberty and property? Were this union formed—were we once united, thoroughly armed and disciplined—was every thing in our power done for our security, as far as human means and foresight could provide—we might then, with more propriety, humbly ask the assistance of heaven, and a blessing on our lawful endeavours. The very fame of our strength and readiness would be a means of discouraging our enemies; for it is a wise and true saying, that *one sword often keeps another in the scabbard*. The way to secure peace is to secure war. They that are on their guard, and appear ready to receive their adversaries, are in much less danger of being attacked, than the supine, secure, and negligent. We have yet a winter before us, which may afford a good and almost sufficient opportunity for this, if we seize and improve it with a becoming vigour. And if the hints contained in this paper are so happy as to meet with a suitable disposition of mind in his countrymen and fellow-citizens, the writer of it will in a few days lay before them a form of an association for the purpose herein mentioned, together with a practicable scheme for raising

the money necessary for the defence of our trade, city, and country, without laying a burthen on any man."

The effect of this appeal was prodigious: it aroused the capital at once. A public meeting was called in Whitfield's preaching-house; and Franklin being requested to produce his promised plan, which was in fact that of a general volunteer militia, twelve hundred signatures to it were obtained on the occasion. In the neighbourhood the flame spread with equal ardour. Copies of the address being promptly circulated, ten thousand men were soon enrolled, who furnished themselves with arms, elected officers, and formed themselves into a regiment, without any important aid from the government. They met with great punctuality, every week, to learn the manual exercise; the female part of the community inflaming their gallantry, by providing and presenting them with colours, which were covered with devices and appropriate mottoes supplied by Franklin. The Philadelphia Association requested our author to become their colonel, which he modestly declined in favour of a Mr Lawrence, who was accordingly appointed.

He next contended, that a battery below the town was essential to its security, and proposed to raise a sufficient sum, by lottery, for its erection and support. This scheme also was popular: the shares were taken off immediately; Franklin, Lawrence, and another friend of the measure, were dispatched to New York, to solicit the loan of cannon, until their own should come from England. Some were bought forthwith at Boston, and mounted, the merlons being constructed of timber and earth for the present; and the proprietary were solicited for assistance, although with little hope of success. At New York they at first found the governor, sir William Clinton, very unwilling to comply with their request; but, after dinner, Franklin watching the movements of the bottle, and pressing his suit accordingly, six cannon were at first promised, then ten, and, after a few bum-

pers more, eighteen—"fine 18-pounders," says our author, "which, with the carriages, were soon transported, and mounted on our batteries." During the rest of the war between Great Britain and Spain, the Association of Philadelphia regularly mounted guard on their batteries every night, and Franklin took his turn there as a common soldier.

Being soon after, in consequence of these efforts, made a member of the governor's council, Franklin proposed to promote the recent measures through the influence of the clergy. A public fast was proclaimed at his suggestion, the pulpit echoed with patriotic addresses, and the enrolling was carried on with great spirit and activity among all classes, except Quakers.

With this respectable part of the community, Franklin's friends began to fear he had embroiled himself hopelessly on this occasion. But he knew them better, it appears. A Mr Logan, a distinguished member of that persuasion, had written an address to the Friends in favour of defensive war, and subscribed sixty pounds to the battery above-mentioned. This gentleman had in his youth accompanied the celebrated William Penn to America, as his private secretary, and gave Franklin the following anecdote of their connexion. Their vessel, in its passage, was chased by a supposed enemy; and the captain pressed the passengers, as well as crew, into his service, except Penn and his associates, whom he expected to find impracticable; but Logan, to his surprise, joined in manning the guns, while the rest of the Quakers retired below. In a short time it was discovered that the vessel bearing down upon them was friendly; and the young secretary, running to inform his master, was rebuked for his apparent willingness to abandon the principles of the Friends on the occasion. Logan replied to him, 'I being thy servant, why didst thou not order me to come down? But thou wast willing enough that I should stay to fight the ship, when thou thoughtest there was danger.'

Our author's own experience of the conduct of the

Quakers had given him reason to suppose them not altogether inimical to defensive measures in which they were not called upon to join too directly. During the public fervour respecting the battery, it was proposed that a small sum should be granted by the fire-company in aid of that scheme; but when it was recollected that the Friends were twenty-two in number, out of the thirty of which the company consisted, the minority could hardly hope for success. A meeting however was appointed to consider the subject, when the other eight members punctually appeared, with but one Quaker, a Mr Morris. He was strenuous in his opposition, and deprecated even the discussion of the grant, as tending to disturb the long-continued harmony of the company. The hour for proceeding to business at length arrived, and still no increase of Friends. Mr Morris then requested a little delay, for he was quite sure that his brethren were coming. Franklin however states the following strange facts. A waiter called him down to speak with "two gentlemen," who proved to be members of their own body. They informed him that at a neighbouring tavern six other Friends were waiting to come with them, if necessary, and vote *for* the measure, but that, as it might involve them in disputes with their brethren, they requested not be called upon except in case of necessity. Secure of his object, Franklin now returned to the society, and consented to a further delay, which Morris considered as very fair; and after the lapse of an hour, he remaining still unsupported, the measure was carried by eight to one. "Thus as of the twenty-two Quakers, eight were ready to vote with us," says Franklin, and "eleven, by their absence, manifested that they were not inclined to oppose the measure, I computed that the proportion of Quakers sincerely against the defence, was as one to twenty-one only." Franklin avers distinctly, that his long experience in the Pennsylvanian assembly gave him constant opportunities of observing evasive conduct in the Quakers, and their never-ending em-

barrassment on the question of war. Desirous of conciliating the government at home, they were unwilling to refuse all supplies of that nature, which their regard for their own principles would have taught them to deny. Monies, known to be designed for military purposes, were therefore, for a long time, granted "*for the king's use.*" But when a local governor demanded such supplies, as this phrase would have been inapplicable, others were invented. On one occasion, he says, the vote was for "bread, flour, wheat, and *other grain,*" with a view to include gunpowder! He therefore observed to a member of the fire-company, when he was apprehensive of being outvoted in his proposal in favour of the battery,—“If we fail, let us move the purchase of a fire-engine with the money: the Quakers can have no objection to that, and—then—we will buy a great gun, which is certainly a fire-engine.”

Franklin's post of clerk to the Assembly, he was told, would be endangered, during this memorable year, by his conduct in military affairs; and he was urged to resign, being assured the Quakers would endeavour to displace him. His reply to a young expectant of the office, who gave him this advice (out of regard, as he said, to his honour) was not lacking in sagacity. He had read, he observed, of some public men who made it a rule never to ask for an office, and never to refuse one. ‘I approve,’ said he, ‘of this rule, and shall practise it with a small addition. I shall never ask, nor refuse, nor ever resign, an office. If they will have my office of clerk, to give to another, they shall take it from me. I will not, by giving it up, lose my right, some time or other, of making reprisal on my adversaries.’

Speaking further of the tergiversation of the Quakers, arising from their public pledges respecting war, he commends the policy of an obscure American sect, with which he about this time became acquainted, called the Dunkers. They complained to him of the calumnies that were in circulation respecting them;

when he advised the publication of their principles or articles of belief. One of the founders of the sect replied, "When we were first drawn together as a society, it pleased God to enlighten our minds so far as to see that some doctrines which were esteemed truths were errors, and that others which we had esteemed errors were real truths. From time to time he has been pleased to afford us farther light, and our principles have been improving, and our errors diminishing. Now we are not sure that we are arrived at the end of this progression, and at the perfection of spiritual or theological knowledge; and we fear, that if we should once print our confession of faith, we should feel ourselves as if bound and confined by it, and perhaps be unwilling to receive further improvements; and our juniors still more so, as conceiving what these elders and founders had done was something sacred, never to be departed from."

The argument of this honest man resembles that of a modern writer of much greater name,* who, after triumphantly narrating his progress through every known gradation of opinions on the person of Christ, boasted literally, "*That he did not know when his creed would be fixed!*"

At the close of the Spanish and French war in 1748, Franklin renewed his attention to the subject of education. The Junto was again moved to influence the good work of founding a superior academy, and our author circulated proposals relating to the education of youth in Pennsylvania, and 'Ideas of an English School, for the consideration of the Trustees;' the whole being announced as the plan of some 'public-spirited gentleman,' according to his former advice of keeping individuals in such cases in the background. A subscription was proposed to be paid by five annual instalments, and the sum of 5000*l.* was soon engaged for, and placed under the management of twenty-four trustees; Franklin and a Mr Francis being intrusted to draw up the constitution of the academy. This being accomplished to his satisfaction, a house

* Dr Priestley.

was hired, and the school opened the same year. Of this institution a leading feature was the *perfect* education of youth in the English language; a subject upon which Franklin was strenuous all his days. In choosing the rector, it was enjoined that 'great regard is to be had to his polite speaking, writing, and understanding, the English tongue.'

The original house of the institution was soon too small for the students; and the preaching-house formerly named was finally appropriated to their use. It was built, Franklin informs us, for no particular sect; while the moving cause of its erection was a want of public accommodation for Mr Whitfield, the subscribers to the building agreed that it was to be opened for the use of any respectable religious teacher; so that, Franklin drily observes, "had the mufti of Constantinople sent a missionary to preach Mahometanism in Philadelphia, he would have found a pulpit at his service." Through this general designation of the building, Franklin, on the demise of one of the original trustees, was chosen in his place, as 'a man of no sect;' and at the period when the academy wanted better accommodation, the building being rarely required for its first purposes, and its funds being in arrears, a fair compromise was suggested between the parties. The trustees of the building ceded it to the academy, who paid all its debts, and agreed to keep open, for ever, a capacious public hall for the use of any preacher requiring it, on the terms of the original trust.

This institution was deservedly popular, not only in Philadelphia and other parts of America, but also in England; and many considerable donations were accordingly bestowed upon it. Two large gold medals were brought over from friends in England by Dr Franklin (in 1775) as prizes for such young gentlemen as should compose the best essays on subjects to be proposed by the college. For one of them there were five competitors, who wrote upon the following subject—"The motives to and advantages of a *perpe-*

tual union between Britain and her colonies :" and the essays were of such great merit, that they were not only published in all parts of America, but afterwards reprinted in England. Such an institution had long been a desideratum in the colonies, and now became valued in proportion to its importance. It was filled with able professors. Its funds were continually increased by contributions from England, to the period of the separation of the colonies, and land, &c. was granted for its use by the proprietaries, and also by the assembly; and finally the trustees were incorporated by charter. Thus arose the university of Philadelphia, the seat of American literature and science, which has supplied the United States with its most eminent scholars, competitors in scientific attainments with the literati of the world.

It is here due to Franklin to observe that, to the close of life, he was peculiarly tenacious of the primary design of this academy, namely, to afford the young people of Philadelphia an accurate acquaintance with the English tongue, and to cultivate amongst them superior correctness and delicacy of taste in English composition. Even when stepping into the grave, in 1789, he declaims against the too great preponderance of Greek and Latin, and "the starvation" of the English part of the scheme of education; and imagines himself surrounded by the departed spirits of his dear friends, the original founders, urging him to use the only tongue of theirs now left, in demanding that justice for the next generation which had been denied, he says, to the present. Many of his reflections on this subject are sensible, but some prejudices were also mingled with it; attributable, in a great degree, to the contracted sphere of his own education. Justice perhaps requires us to insert here, from his observations on the original intentions of the founders of the academy (1789) the following illustration of his opinions:—

"The origin of Latin and Greek schools among the different nations of Europe is known to have been

this—that until between three and four hundred years past, there were no books in any other language; all the knowledge then contained in books, viz. the theology, the jurisprudence, the physic, the art-military, the politics, the mathematics, and mechanics, the natural and moral philosophy, the logic and rhetoric, the chemistry, the pharmacy, the architecture, and every other branch of science, being in those languages, it was of course necessary to learn them, as the gates through which men must pass to get at that knowledge.

“The books then existing were manuscript, and these consequently so dear, that only the few wealthy, inclined to learning, could afford to purchase them. The common people were not even at the pains of learning to read, because, after taking that pains, they would have nothing to read that they could understand, without learning the ancients’ languages, nor then, without money to purchase the manuscripts. And so few were the learned readers sixty years after the invention of printing, that it appears, by letters still extant between the printers in 1499, that they could not throughout Europe find purchasers for more than three hundred copies of any ancient authors. But printing beginning now to make books cheap, the readers increased so much as to make it worth while to write and print books in the vulgar tongues. At first these were chiefly books of devotion, and little histories; gradually several branches of science began to appear in the common languages; and, at this day, the whole body of science, consisting not only of translations from all the valuable ancients, but of all the new modern discoveries, is to be met with in these languages; so that learning the ancient, for the purpose of acquiring knowledge, is become absolutely unnecessary.

“But there is in mankind an unaccountable prejudice in favour of ancient customs and habitudes, which inclines to a continuance of them after the circumstances, which formerly made them useful, cease to exist. A

multitude of instances might be given; but it may suffice to mention one. Hats were once thought an useful part of dress; they kept the head warm, and screened it from the violent impression of the sun's rays, and from the rain, snow, hail, &c. Though, by the way, this was not the more ancient opinion or practice, for among all the remains of antiquity, the bustos, statues, basso-relievos, medals, &c., which are infinite, there is no representative of a human figure with a cap or hat on, nor any covering for the head, unless it be the head of a soldier, who has a helmet, but that is evidently not a part of dress for health, but as a protection from the strokes of a weapon.

"At what time hats were first introduced, we know not; but in the last century they were universally worn throughout Europe. Gradually however, as the wearing of wigs and of hair nicely dressed prevailed, the putting on of hats was disused by genteel people, lest the curious arrangements of the curls and powdering should be disordered; and umbrellas began to supply their place; yet still our considering the hat as a part of dress continues so far to prevail, that a man of fashion is not thought dressed without having one, or something like one, about him, which he carries under his arm! So that there are a multitude of the politer people in all the courts and capital cities of Europe, who have never seen their fathers before them wear a hat otherwise than as a *chapeau bras*, though the utility of such a mode of wearing it is by no means apparent, and it is attended not only with some expence, but with a degree of constant trouble.

"The still prevailing custom of having schools for teaching generally our children, in these days, the Latin and Greek languages, I consider therefore in no other light than as the *chapeau bras* of modern literature."

During the year 1745, while the mother country was shaken to the centre by the last rebellion in favour of the Stuarts, Mr Franklin was meditating

that complete retirement from public life to learned leisure, which his easy circumstances and philosophical taste alike suggested. He contracted a partnership in his printing business with David Hall, one of his most intelligent workmen, on the express condition of his retiring from all active management of its concerns: a connexion in which he found all his views fully answered, he says, for a period of eighteen years. About this time he became acquainted at Boston with a Mr Spence, from Europe, who first exhibited to him a few electrical experiments; and, by a happy concurrence of events, an old acquaintance of his in England, Peter Collinson, esq. J. K. S., presented, at the same period, to the Philadelphia Library Company an electric tube, accompanied with directions for its use. Franklin entered eagerly upon attempting the experiments he had seen, and readily acquired the practice of those described in the papers from England. He declares that, for his own part, he never was so totally engrossed with any object of study before; and that, being willing to diffuse the information he obtained as fast as he had made it his own, his house was for some time continually full of friends and acquaintances, crowding to see the wonders of the new science. Thus commenced the important researches of our author into this science. We shall have occasion to return to this topic more at length.

At present the local interests of the provinces were pressed upon his consideration, and began to be committed largely to his management. He was elected a member of the Pennsylvanian assembly, and allowed to vacate his seat as clerk in favour of his son: the governor placed him in the commission of the peace; while the corporation of Philadelphia called him into the common council, and he was shortly after chosen an alderman of the city. None of these honours, he declares, did he ever seek; but he admits they gratified his ambition. The clerkship of the assembly had become wearisome to his active mind;

he was almost indifferent to its emoluments ; and the task of hearing and recording debates wherein he could take no part, was a trial of his patience from which he willingly escaped. He did not, however, long take an active part as a magistrate, finding himself, he says, too little acquainted with the common law to fill such a station with credit, and thus evincing a practical and modest self-knowledge, to which he owed much of his public consideration.

[EXTRACT.]

" To the late Dr COTTON MATHER, of Boston.

" REV. SIR,—I received your kind letter, with your excellent advice to the people of the United States, which I read with great pleasure, and hope it will be duly regarded. Such writings, though they may be lightly passed over by many readers, yet, if they make a deep impression on one active mind in a hundred, the effects may be considerable.

" Permit me to mention one little instance, which, though it relates to myself, will not be quite uninteresting to you. When I was a boy, I met with a book, entitled 'Essays to do Good,' which I think was written by your father. It had been so little regarded by a former possessor, that several leaves of it were torn out ; but the remainder gave me such a turn of thinking, as to have an influence on my conduct through life ; for I have always set a greater value on the character of a doer of good than any other kind of reputation ; and if I have been, as you seem to think, a useful citizen, the public owes the advantage of it to that book.

" You mention your being in your seventy-eighth year. I am in my seventy-ninth. We are grown old together. It is now more than sixty years since I left Boston ; but I remember well both your father and grandfather, having heard them both in the pulpit, and seen them in their houses. The last time I saw your father was the beginning of 1724, when I visited

him after my first trip to Pennsylvania. He received me in his library; and, on my taking leave, shewed me a shorter way out of the house, through a narrow passage which was crossed by a beam over head. We were still talking as I withdrew, he accompanying me behind, and I turning partly towards him, when he said hastily, 'Stoop! stoop!' I did not understand him till I felt my head hit against the beam. He was a man who never missed any occasion of giving instruction; and upon this he said to me: 'You are young, and have the world before you: stoop as you go through it, and you will miss many hard thumps.' This advice, thus beat into my head, has frequently been of use to me; and I often think of it, when I see pride mortified, and misfortunes brought upon people by their carrying their heads too high.

"Perry, May 12th, 1784."

During the course of the year 1750, Mr Franklin, Mr Norris, and the speaker of the Pennsylvanian Assembly, were appointed commissioners to conduct a treaty with the Indians at Carlisle, whither they repaired accordingly. These unfortunate tribes had long imbibed one of the worst vices of their European neighbours, drunkenness, and when in liquor were very ungovernable. The commissioners, therefore, strictly prohibited the giving or selling to them spirits, while the business of their journey should be pending, but promised at the conclusion to give them abundance of their favourite liquor. The treaty was successful, and the rum accordingly given to them in their temporary cabins, forming a square in the neighbourhood of Carlisle, where they had congregated to the number of about a hundred men, women, and children. The commissioners, in the evening, were alarmed by a great noise which they heard among them, and, on approaching, found that they had made a bonfire in their square, and were fighting by whole families in groups, in all the rage of beastly intoxi-

cation. To Franklin's quiet and meditative mind the scene appeared a perfect pandemonium; their ferocious countenances and manners, the horrid and unintelligible yells, the flaming firebrands with which they pursued and beat each other, and which threw (together with the half-smothered fire) the most hideous light on their tawny and staggering frames, gave altogether one of the most horrid pictures of low vice and misery, with which his extensive experience, he says, ever furnished him. In the middle of the night, a multitude of them came to the lodgings of the commissioners, importunately demanding more rum, but departed without receiving any attention. For this intrusion they sent three of their old counsellors to make an apology the next day, the substance of which is curious, and much amused our philosopher. They first excused themselves by imputing all the mischief to the rum, and then very gravely alleged, that the Great Spirit who made all things, made every thing for some use, and whatever use he designed any thing for, that use it should be put to. Now, when he made rum, he said, "Let this be for the Indians to get drunk with, and it must be so!" The effects of dram-drinking were never more apparent than in these Indians. It had at this time completely extirpated all the native tribes who had inhabited the sea-coast; and if, says our author, it be the design of Providence to annihilate these savages, in order to make room for the cultivators of the earth, it seems not impossible that rum may be the appointed means. The commission was however executed at this place, with satisfaction to the Assembly.

Pennsylvania hospital, founded in 1751, received, in Franklin's public influence, its most important early support. He is compelled to state, in his personal narrative, that hardly a public subscription could now be proposed, but the question was immediately asked, Have you consulted Franklin on this business? When therefore a friend of his, Dr Bond, to whom our author is careful to assign the honour of first

moving in the affair, attempted to canvass Philadelphia without his concurrence, but little progress was made. Franklin however, when consulted, had too much nobleness of spirit to resent this conduct, but fairly examined the doctor's scheme, and entered into it fully. The Junto, and the paper of the province, were duly put in motion, and very important friends to the measure gained; but a grant of public money seemed essential to place it on a solid footing. This Franklin obtained with no common adroitness; he himself calls it a political manœuvre of Dame Cunning. He in fact placed the projected hospital in the situation of a bride elect, whose parents and guardians require a proper stimulus to liberality; while the Pennsylvanian assembly was required to yield a genteel fortune on the other side, as in the place of the guardians of the expectant bridegroom. He therefore brought a bill into the house, by which it was proposed to present 2000*l.* to the hospital funds, on the condition, that 2000*l.* more should be obtained by private subscription; and that when, to the satisfaction of the speaker of the said house, the private money should be raised, then, and not till then, he was required to sign an order on the provincial treasurer for the payment of 2000*l.* out of the provincial funds, in two yearly payments of 1000*l.* each. The parties were thus made by able management to act upon each other. With the house he pleaded the great public benefit intended, and the patriotic disposition of numerous respectable individuals to contribute to it; while with private persons he pressed the condition and pledge so happily obtained, and the manner in which each individual subscription became doubled in its amount of contribution to the general scheme.

To another public project, in hand at this time, he contributed *advice*, at least worth remembering, and in keeping with his general character and cleverness. Being solicited by the Rev. Mr Tennant, one of Whitfield's admirers, to assist him in obtaining funds

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for the erection of a meeting-house, he declined pressing it upon his connexions in Philadelphia, as it might possibly appear making too free with them. "But apply *you*," said he, "first to those you know will give you something; next to those of whose willingness or ability you are uncertain (and shew to them the actual subscriptions obtained;) lastly go to those whom you believe will give nothing, for in some of them you may be mistaken." The preacher tried the plan, says our author; asked everybody, and was able to erect one of the most spacious and well-built places of worship in the province.

The history of civilized nations, especially those of considerable power, has always been blended. We now arrive at the commencement of that last and most important contest between Great Britain and France in America, the first effect of which was to annihilate the power of the French in this part of the globe; the next, in order of importance perhaps, to teach America her own strength and resources, calling into actual service the very men who were afterwards the authors of her revolution, and the pillars of her independence; and last, not least, by an easy but imperceptible consequence, to bring the British colonies and the mother-country into collision; a contest that terminated in possibly the most important event in modern history. Franklin and Washington (but especially the former) were both conspicuous public characters in this war.

As, after this period, Great Britain never exercised unmolested sway over her North American colonies, and as their subsequent independence and prosperity, when the United States of America, have brought to them material accessions of territory, it will much illustrate our sketch of the war, and Franklin's various exertions in it, to present the reader with a brief sketch of the situation and boundaries of the British possessions at this time.

The then British colonies, bordering on each other, and extending along the sea-coast from Davies-strait

as far south as Florida (if we comprehend the country around Hudson's Bay and the banks of Newfoundland) included a territory of seventeen hundred miles, in a direct line from 60th to 31st degree of northern latitude. It was washed on the east by the Atlantic, and had Spanish Florida for its southern limit; but its western boundaries were uncertain, some confining them to the river Illinois, which nearly connects the great chain of internal lakes with the Mississippi, and others tracing them to the western shores of America itself, or to the great Southern Ocean.

We begin with the northern extremity, of which East Main in the west, and Labrador on the east, constitute the principal divisions. They are still amongst the unconquered regions of America, and were at this time very little known.

Newfoundland, forming the extreme eastern point of North America, and being the first of our transatlantic possessions, was, with St John's, a neighbouring island, included in the government of Nova Scotia. It alone measures one hundred and twenty-five leagues from north to south, and from east to west nearly one hundred. A few Esquimaux are found scattered up and down its trackless wilds. It was ceded to the English by France at the peace of Utrecht, and is principally valuable for its vast fishing bank, from which myriads of cod have been taken annually for two centuries, without appearing in any way to diminish their numbers.

Nova Scotia, formerly called Acadia by the French, was wholly neglected by Europeans till about the year 1748 (when the town of Halifax was settled by Great Britain;) and at that period it comprehended the present province of New Brunswick. It is intersected by noble rivers, and crowned with inexhaustible forests of pine, spruce, birch, beech, elm, fir, and other timber. Proceeding now southward (the French at this time possessing to the west the whole of Canada) New England was composed of the four provinces known by the names of New Hampshire,

Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. The southern boundary was New York, which extended to the north on both sides of the river Hudson, about two hundred miles into the country once belonging to the Irroquois, the Indians of the Five Nations. This province included Long Island. Continuous to New York, in a south-west direction along the shores of the Atlantic, was the small province of New Jersey, bounded westward by the river Delaware, which separated it from Pennsylvania.

The soil, climate, and produce, of these provinces, were very similar. In New York several mines of iron were worked profitably, and New Jersey yielded very rich copper ore. Forests abounding with oak, ash, beech, walnut-tree, pine, cypress, cedar, &c., were scattered over the whole country; and weighty crops of grain, with abundance of sheep, horses, hogs, and horned cattle, were everywhere found; also poultry, game, vegetables of all sorts, and excellent fruit, particularly peaches and melons.

Pennsylvania, containing the capital, was two hundred and fifty miles in length, two hundred in breadth, and understood to extend from the Atlantic to the lake Erie, on which the French had a fort. It was originally settled by Quaker families, under the direction of the celebrated William Penn, whose descendants were the proprietaries of the province, down to the period of its separation from the mother-country.

Maryland, a settlement of Catholics, extended along the bay of Chesapeake about one hundred and forty miles, and was of about the same breadth, being bounded northward by Pennsylvania, on the east by the Atlantic, and by the river Potowmac on the south. The climate here indicates our nearer approach to the equator, the summers being very sultry, and the soil proportionably fruitful. Tobacco was at this time the staple commodity.

Adjoining this province was Virginia, having the bay of Chesapeake for its eastern boundary, Carolina on the south, and extending westward to the Allegany

mountains: its breadth and length being about two hundred miles. Here also were noble forests, plains covered with luxuriant vegetation and grazed by prolific herds of European cattle, and numerous wild animals. Farther south, between the 31st and 40th degrees of north latitude, were the two Carolinas, comprising a tract of country upwards of four hundred miles in length, and in breadth about three hundred miles, extending from the sea to the territory of the Creek and Cherokee nations. North Carolina carried on a flourishing trade with the mother-country in tar, pitch, turpentine, staves, shingles, grain, &c., through the commodious harbour of Charlestown.

The most southern of the British North American settlements was Georgia, extending along the sea-coast about sixty miles from north to south, and of various breadth inland, being in the direction of the great Apalachian ridge nearly three hundred miles from east to west. It was bounded on the south by the river Attamaha and Spanish Florida, and carried on the most extensive trade with the Indian tribes of any of our provinces.

With this succinct view of the British colonies before him, the reader will now be better able to resume our narrative.

The home government, apprehending war with France, in the year 1754, felt the importance of conciliating both the colonists and the native tribes of America. Commissioners from all the colonies were therefore appointed to assemble at Albany to concert measures for their common defence, as well as to conclude treaties with the chiefs of the Six Nations. Franklin was at this time so much impressed with the importance of a permanent union among the colonies, that he prepared on his way a project for their being comprehended under one government; with reasons against partial unions, &c. Indeed this seemed with Franklin the all-important business of their present meeting. He therefore moved a resolution expressive of the general opinion of the com-

missioners, that such an union should be established; and a committee was appointed, consisting of one member from each colony, to consider and report upon plans for the same. That of Franklin, after much discussion, was adopted with few amendments; and as it throws great light upon the political state of Anglo-America previous to the separation, and exhibits very clearly a step in the progress to that inevitable result, we give the substance of it.

Having premised, that an union of the colonies was absolutely essential for their preservation, that it was necessary it should be established by act of parliament, and that partial unions would be difficult to effect, practically weaker, and more liable to be interfered with by selfish views, it was therefore proposed—‘That humble application be made for an act of parliament from Great Britain, by virtue of which one general government may be formed in America, including all the said colonies, within and under which government each colony may retain its present constitution, except in the particulars wherein a change may be directed by the said act, as hereafter follows:—That the said general government be administered by a president-general, to be appointed and supported by the crown; and a grand council, to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several colonies met in their respective assemblies.—That within months after the passing such act, the house of representatives, that happen to be sitting within that time, or that shall be especially for that purpose convened, may and shall choose members for the grand council, in the following proportion; that is to say—

Massachusetts Bay	7
New Hampshire	2
Connecticut	5
Rhode Island	2
New York	4

Carried forward 20

	Brought forward	20
New Jersey	3	
Pennsylvania	6	
Maryland	4	
Virginia	7	
North Carolina	4	
South Carolina	4	
	<hr/>	48

who shall meet, for the first time, at the city of Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, being called by the president-general, as soon as conveniently may be after his appointment. That there shall be a new election of the members of the grand council every three years; and on the death or resignation of any member, his place shall be supplied by a new choice at the next sitting of the assembly of the colony he represented.—That after the first three year, when the proportion of money, arising out of each colony to the general treasury, can be known, the number of members to be chosen for each colony shall, from time to time, in all ensuing elections, be regulated by that proportion (yet so as that the members to be chosen by any one province be not more than seven, nor less than two.)—That the grand council shall meet once in every year, and oftener if occasion require, at such time and place as they shall adjourn to at the last preceding meeting, or as they shall be called to meet at by the president-general on any emergency; he having first obtained, in writing, the consent of seven of the members to such call, and sent due and timely notice to the whole.—That the grand council have power to choose their speaker, and shall neither be dissolved, prorogued, nor continued sitting longer than six weeks at one time, without their own consent, or the special command of the crown.—That the members of the grand council shall be allowed, for their service, ten shillings sterling *per diem*, during their session, and journey to and from the place of meeting; twenty miles to be reckoned a day's journey.—That the assent of the president-gene-

ral be requisite to all acts of the grand council; and that it be his office and duty to cause them to be carried into execution.—That the president-general, with the advice of the grand council, hold or direct all Indian treaties in which the general interest of the colonies may be concerned; and make peace, or declare war, with Indian nations.—That they make such laws as they judge necessary for regulating all Indian trade.—That they make all purchases from Indians for the crown, of lands not now within the bounds of particular colonies, or that shall not be within their bounds, when some of them are reduced to more convenient dimensions.—That they make new settlements on such purchases, by granting lands in the king's name, reserving a quit-rent to the crown, for the use of the general treasury.—That they make laws for regulating and governing such new settlements, till the crown shall think fit to form them into particular governments.—That they raise and pay soldiers, and build forts, for the defence of any of the colonies, and equip vessels of force to guard the coasts, and protect the trade on the ocean, lakes, or great rivers; but they shall not impress men in any colony, without the consent of the legislature.—That, for these purposes, they have power to make laws, and lay and levy such general duties, imposts, or taxes, as to them shall appear most equal and just (considering the ability and other circumstances of the inhabitants in the several colonies) and such as may be collected with the least inconvenience to the people; and rather discouraging luxury, than loading industry with unnecessary burthens.—That they may appoint a general treasurer, and a particular treasurer in each government, when necessary; and, from time to time, may order the sums in the treasuries of each government into the general treasury; or draw on them for special payments, as they find most convenient; yet no money to issue, but by joint orders of the president-general and grand council, except where sums have been appropriated to particular purposes,

and the president-general is previously empowered by an act to draw for such sums.—That the general account shall be yearly settled, and reported to the several assemblies.—That a quorum of the grand council, empowered to act with the president-general, do consist of twenty-five members, among whom there shall be one or more from a majority of the colonies.—That the laws made by them, for the purposes aforesaid, shall not be repugnant, but, as near as may be, agreeable to the laws of England, and shall be transmitted to the king in council, for approbation, as soon as may be after their passing; and if not disapproved within three years after presentation, to remain in force.—That in case of the death of the president-general, the speaker of the grand council for the time being shall succeed, and be vested with the same powers and authorities, to continue till the king's pleasure shall be known.—That all military commission-officers, whether for land or sea-service, to act under this general constitution, shall be nominated by the president-general; but the approbation of the grand council is to be obtained, before they receive their commissions: and all civil officers are to be nominated by the grand council, and to receive the president-general's approbation before they officiate; but, in case of vacancy by death, or removal of any officer, civil or military, under this constitution, the governor of the province in which such vacancy happens, may appoint, till the pleasure of the president-general and grand council can be known.—That the particular military, as well as civil establishments, in each colony, remain in their present state, the general constitution notwithstanding; and that, on sudden emergencies, any colony may defend itself, and lay the accounts of expence thence arising before the president-general and general council, who may allow and order payment of the same, as far as they judge such accounts just and reasonable*.

* FRANKLIN'S Albany Paper.]

Another plan proposed at this time was, that the governors of the respective provinces, together with members of each provincial council, should meet to confer upon measures of general defence, and draw on the treasury of the home government, to defray expenses, which were subsequently to be refunded by taxes on America, levied by the British parliament.

Neither the Assemblies, however, nor the British government, approved of these plans. The crown was evidently jealous of the appearances of union and independent strength which had already been exhibited. Franklin's plan, in particular, was considered in England as far too democratic; while, curiously enough, it was rejected by the colonial Assemblies, as giving too large an increase to the royal prerogative. Franklin had frequent conferences upon the subject with sir J. Shirley and other governors. We insert the first two letters from Franklin to governor Shirley, as expressing, at this time, those sentiments of our philosopher, on the subject of taxation by the British parliament, which became afterwards the great topic of hostile discussion between the colonies and the mother-country. They bear in fact upon both the plans above alluded to.

LETTER I.—To governor Shirley, concerning the imposition of direct Taxes upon the Colonies without their consent.

“Tuesday Morning.

SIR,—I return you the loose sheets of the plan, with thanks to your Excellency for communicating them. I apprehend, that excluding the people of the colonies from all share in the choice of the grand council will give extreme dissatisfaction, as well as the taxing them by act of parliament where they have no representation. It is very possible, that this general government might be as well and faithfully administered without the people as with them; but

where heavy burdens are laid upon them, it has been found useful to make it as much as possible their own act; for they bear better when they have, or think they have, some share in the direction; and when any public measures are generally grievous, or even distasteful, to the people, the wheels of government move more heavily."

LETTER II.—To the same, concerning direct Taxes in the Colonies, imposed without consent, indirect Taxes, and the Albany plan of union.

"Wednesday Morning.

"SIR,—I mentioned it yesterday to your Excellency as my opinion, that excluding the people of the colonies from all share in the choice of the grand council would probably give extreme dissatisfaction, as well as the taxing them by act of parliament where they have no representation. In matters of general concern to the people, and especially where burdens are to be laid upon them, it is of use to consider, as well what they will be apt to think and say, as what they ought to think. I shall therefore, as your Excellency requires it of me, briefly mention what of either kind occurs to me on this occasion.

"First, they will say, and perhaps with justice, that the body of the people in the colonies are as loyal, and as firmly attached to the present constitution and reigning family, as any subjects in the king's dominions.

"That there is no reason to doubt the readiness and willingness of the representatives they may choose, to grant, from time to time, such supplies for the defence of the country as shall be judged necessary, so far as their abilities will allow.

"That the people in the colonies, who are to feel the immediate mischiefs of invasion and conquest by an enemy, in the loss of their estates, lives, and liberties, are likely to be better judges of the quantity of

forces necessary to be raised and maintained, forts to be built and supported, and of their own abilities to bear the expence, than the parliament of England, at so great a distance.

“That governors often come to the colonies merely to make fortunes, with which they intend to return to Britain; are not always men of the best abilities or integrity; have many of them no estates here, nor any natural connexions with us, that should make them heartily concerned for our welfare; and might possibly be fond of raising and keeping up more forces than necessary, from the profits accruing to themselves, and to make provisions for their friends and dependants.

“That the counsellors in most of the colonies being appointed by the crown, on the recommendation of governors, are often persons of small estates, frequently dependent on the governors for offices, and therefore too much under their influence.

“That there is, therefore, great reason to be jealous of a power, in such governors and councils, to raise such sums as they shall judge necessary, by drafts on the lords of the treasury, to be afterwards laid on the colonies by act of parliament, and paid by the people here; since they might abuse it by projecting useless expeditions, harassing the people, and taking them from their labour to execute such projects, merely to create offices and employments, and gratify their dependants, and divide profits.

“That the parliament of England is at a great distance, subject to be misinformed and misled by such governors and councils, whose united interests might probably secure them against the effect of any complaint from hence.

“That it is supposed an undoubted right of Englishmen, not to be taxed except by their own consent, given through their representatives.

“That the colonies have no representatives in parliament.

“That to propose taxing them by parliament, and

refuse them the liberty of choosing a representative council, to meet in the colonies, and consider and judge of the necessity of any general tax, and the quantum, shows a suspicion of their loyalty to the crown, or of their common sense and understanding, which they have not deserved.

"That compelling the colonies to pay money without their consent, would be rather like raising contributions in an enemy's country, than taxing of Englishmen for their own public benefit.

"That it would be treating them as a conquered people, and not as true British subjects.

"That a tax laid by the representatives of the colonies might be easily lessened as the occasions should lessen; but, being once laid by parliament under the influence of the representations made by governors, would probably be kept up and continued for the benefit of governors; to the grievous burden and discontentment of the colonies, and the prevention of their growth and increase.

"That a power in governors to march the inhabitants from one end of the British and French colonies to the other, being a country of at least one thousand five hundred miles long, without the approbation or the consent of their representatives first obtained to such expeditions, might be grievous and ruinous to the people, and would put them upon a footing with the subjects of France in Canada, that now groan under such oppression from their governor, who for two years past has harassed them with long and destructive marches to Ohio.

"That if the colonies in a body may be well governed by governors and councils appointed by the crown, without representatives,—particular colonies may as well, or better, be so governed; a tax may be laid upon them all by act of parliament for support of government, and their assemblies may be dismissed as an useless part of the constitution.

"That the powers proposed, by the Albany plan of union, to be vested in a grand council representative

of the people, even with regard to military matters, are not so great as those which the colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut are intrusted with by their charters, and have never abused; for by this plan the president-general is appointed by the crown, and controls all by his negative; but in those governments the people choose the governor, and yet allow him no negative.

“That the British colonies bordering on the French are properly frontiers of the British empire; and the frontiers of an empire are properly defended at the joint expence of the body of the people in such empire.—It would now be thought hard by act of parliament to oblige the Cinque Ports, or sea-coasts of Britain, to maintain the whole navy, because they are more immediately defended by it, not allowing them at the same time a vote in choosing members of the parliament: and as the frontiers of America bear the expence of their own defence, it seems hard to allow them no share in voting the money, judging of the necessity and sum, or advising the measures.

“That besides the taxes necessary for the defence of the frontiers, the colonies pay yearly great sums to the mother-country unnoticed:—for 1. Taxes paid in Britain by the landholder or artificer must enter into and increase the price of the produce of land; and manufactures made of it; and great part of this is paid by consumers in the colonies, who thereby pay a considerable part of the British taxes.

“2. We are restrained in our trade with foreign nations; and where we could be supplied with any manufacture cheaper from them, but must buy the same dearer from Britain, the difference of price is a clear tax paid to Britain.

“3. We are obliged to carry a great part of our produce directly to Britain; and where the duties laid upon it lessen its price to the planter, or he sells it for less than it would fetch in foreign markets, the difference is a tax paid to Britain.

“4. Some manufactures we could make, but are for-

hidden, and must take them of British merchants : the whole price is a tax paid to Britain.

" 5. By our greatly increasing the demand and consumption of British manufactures, their price is considerably raised of late years : the advantage is clear profit to Britain, and enables its people better to pay great taxes ; and much of it being paid by us, is clear tax to Britain.

" 6. In short, as we are not suffered to regulate our trade, and restrain the importation and consumption of British superfluities (as Britain can the consumption of foreign superfluities) our whole wealth centres finally amongst the merchants and inhabitants of Britain ; and if we make them richer, and enable them better to pay their taxes, it is nearly the same as being taxed ourselves, and equally beneficial to the crown.

" These kind of secondary taxes, however, we do not complain of, though we have no share in the laying or disposing of them : but to pay immediate heavy taxes, in the laying, appropriation, and disposition of which we have no part, and which perhaps we may know to be as unnecessary as grievous, must seem a hard measure to Englishmen, who cannot conceive, that by hazarding their lives and fortunes in subduing and settling new countries, extending the dominion and increasing the commerce of the mother-nation, they have forfeited the native rights of Britons, which they think ought rather to be given to them, as due to such merit, if they had been before in a state of slavery.

" These, and such kinds of things as these, I apprehend, will be thought and said by the people, if the proposed alteration of the Albany plan should take place. Then the administration of the board of governors and councils so appointed, not having the representative body of the people to approve and unite in its measures, and conciliate the minds of the people to them, will probably become suspected and odious ; dangerous animosities and feuds will

arise between the governors and governed, and every thing go into confusion.

"Perhaps I am too apprehensive in this matter ; but having freely given my opinion and reasons, your Excellency can judge better than I, whether there be any weight in them ; and the shortness of the time allowed me will, I hope, in some degree excuse the imperfections of this scrawl.

"With the greatest respect and fidelity, I have the honour to be,

"Your Excellency's most obedient

"And most humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

It cannot after this be said, that the British executive were left in the dark in reference to the effect of those measures which hastened the dissolution of the connexion between the mother-country and her colonies, in a manner so discreditable both to the wisdom and energy of the former. A dissolution was probably sooner or later inevitable ; but indisputably it was hastened by a theory almost as erroneous, and a practice nearly as imbecile, as that which has been more recently exhibited by Old Spain.

CHAPTER VI.

Franklin's plan slighted in the Pennsylvanian Assembly; his own final opinion of it.—Made a joint post-master-general with Mr Hunter.—Enters deeply into the disputes between the Assembly and the governor of the province.—Aids materially the British expedition under general Braddock.—Account of the failure of that expedition.—Franklin advocates the raising of volunteer corps.—Sent to the frontiers for the defence of the province.—Erects forts there.—Made colonel of the Philadelphian association.—Lord London, and his military measures.—Franklin's claims with respect to electrical discoveries.—Appointed agent for Pennsylvania in England.—Arrives there.—Circulates in London information as to the state of the colonies.—Accomplishes a settlement between the Assembly and the proprietaries.—The degree of LL.D. conferred upon him at St. Andrew's Edinburgh, and Oxford.

THE Governor characterized Franklin's plan of union, to the Pennsylvanian Assembly, as "drawn up with great clearness and strength of judgment, and well worthy their closest and most serious attention." That body however dismissed it almost without a debate, "by the management of a certain member," Franklin says, in his absence; which he thought very unfair, and felt very mortifying. After the final success of his countrymen at the close of the American war, he reviewed this part of his life with great satisfaction, and says of this plan, "I am still of opinion it would have been happy for both sides if it had been adopted. The colonies, so united, would have been sufficiently strong to have defended themselves; there would then have been no need of troops from England; of course the subsequent pretext for taxing America, and the bloody contest it occasioned, would have been avoided. But such mistakes are not new. The best public measures are seldom adopted from previous wisdom, but forced by the occasion."

At about this period, Franklin, in conjunction with Mr William Hunter, was appointed to the office of

post-master-general of America, at a salary of 600*l.* per annum out of the profits. Nothing like this sum, says Franklin, accrued to them for some years: on the contrary, the fourth annual account left the office in debt to them 900*l.* But Franklin's improving hand was after this felt in every part of the machine. It yielded to the home government, at last, three times as much revenue as the post-office of Ireland, and to himself and his colleague 1000*l.* per annum each.

Pennsylvania, from its first settlement, had been the scene of endless disputes between the proprietary and the inhabitants. Each succeeding governor was expected by the people to redress their grievances; but all seemed to have considered themselves the partisans of the proprietors. A great topic in dispute was, whether the proprietors possessed any right of exemption from taxes, in regard to their own estates. Bills of the most important nature, unless containing a clause of exemption, were rejected by successive governors, who are even said to have been compelled to give bonds never to pass such bills.

On the renewal of the war with France, this "incredible meanness," as Franklin calls it, was carried to the following extreme.

The province of Massachusetts Bay solicited the Assembly of Pennsylvania for an aid of 10,000*l.* toward an expedition against the French fort at Crown Point; a request to which the Assembly, who seemed to possess liberal feelings as to the funds of the province, readily listened. But the bill having passed the house without a clause of the above-mentioned kind, the governor refused his assent to it, and the whole affair was thrown into suspense. Franklin then proposed, that the Assembly should exercise a right, which they possessed independently of the governor, of drawing on the loan-office for the money—a proposal which was instantly complied with; and although little cash was in the office, and the bills on it were obliged to be made payable the following

year, bearing five per cent. interest, they were readily negotiated, and indeed sought after with eagerness. Franklin was therefore clearly, at this time, any thing but indisposed towards the general government. The Massachusetts deputies well knew to whom this great service was owing; and with one of them, Mr Quincy, Franklin contracted a lasting and cordial friendship.

Being at New York in 1753, he was introduced to Mr Morris, a new governor of Pennsylvania, just arrived from England, who asked what he thought of his prospects of a comfortable situation? Franklin replied, "You may be comfortable enough, if you will only take care to avoid all disputes with the Assembly." "My good friend," rejoined the Governor, "you must know I love disputing; it is one of my greatest pleasures. However, to show the regard I have for you, I promise you I will, if possible, avoid them." This gentleman however showed but slight recollection of his promise. He was soon at issue with the Assembly on the old point. On Franklin's return from an excursion in New England, he found them in high contention; and being put on every committee for receiving the Governor's messages, was requested to write answers to them all. Great good nature however was manifested in the private intercourse of the leading parties; and Franklin was always cordially received at the table of this governor. In one of their money bills the great question was literally reduced to two words. The bill enacted, that "*all estates*, real and personal, should be taxed, those of the proprietaries not excepted." The governor's amendment was, "*for not read only*." This related to a sum of 50,000*l.* for the defence of their own province; but the governor refused to pass the bill, and the assembly to alter it.

Between these local disputes, and the jealousy of the home government as to the military power of the colonies, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, were now the frequent scenes of attack from the Indians

and French. A camp was therefore ordered to be formed at Wills' Creek; and in February, 1755; major-general Braddock landed from England at Alexandria in Virginia, with Dunbar's and Halket's regiments of foot. Operations against the enemy were to have immediately commenced; but the Virginian contractors for the army had furnished neither provisions nor carriages. Greater ignorance could not well have been shown than in the selection of Virginia as the place for disembarking these troops. Intent upon their tobacco manufacture, and well-furnished with water conveyances, the Virginians had little occasion at any time for wheel carriages or beasts of burden. Instead therefore of one hundred and fifty waggons, and double that number of horses, which were contracted for, only one hundred horses, and twenty-five waggons, for some weeks appeared. In this emergency the Pennsylvanians, who imagined the General to have conceived some strong prejudices against them, despatched Franklin to his assistance, requesting him to ask for the interview, not as deputed from the Assembly, but as post-master-general. His son accompanied him. Having spent several days in the discussion of his ostensible business, the settling a mode for conveying despatches between the General and the governors of the provinces, Franklin witnessed the discontent of the General, at his present situation and supplies. He casually remarked, how much more readily the troops could have been supplied from Pennsylvania, where every farmer had his waggon and horses. Braddock replied with eagerness, "Then you, sir, who are a man of interest there, can probably procure some for us; and I beg you will." Inquiring into the terms which should be offered to the owners, Franklin was ordered to draw up such proposals as he himself thought reasonable; which he instantly did, and advertised them in the public papers.

One hundred and fifty waggons, and two hundred and fifty-nine carrying horses, were brought in by

this address, and payment was promised by the proposals for all waggons and horses lost; but the owners alleging that they knew nothing of the General, insisted on Franklin's bond for their due return. He had also to advance one thousand pounds in cash for the government, at this time more than he received.

Hearing in this visit colonel Dunbar's officers complain of their want almost of the necessaries of a camp, he suggested to the committee of the Pennsylvanian Assembly, that the supply of about twenty articles of provision and refreshment would be well received; but this also must be accomplished with Franklinian method! Twenty horses therefore made their appearance in the camp one day, each laden with a parcel of the articles in question, addressed as a present to an officer; and our deputy left the camp the most popular man in the country.

Braddock's expedition, it is well known, was not successful. He was a mere disciplinarian, with a shallow mind; and, priding himself in his military education, had no idea of the difference between the European mode of warfare, and an American expedition through woods and morasses. Hence he treated with contempt the most essential local knowledge.

Franklin, while he characterizes him as a brave man, quickly saw the extent of his capacity. According to his own account, he was to take Fort Duquesne, which was a hundred and thirty miles from Wills' Creek, in a few days. Then, says he, 'I am to proceed to Niagara, and having taken that, to Frontenac, if the season will allow time, and I suppose it will.' Franklin observed to him, that certainly, when he should arrive with those troops and his train of artillery before Duquesne, though it was well fortified and garrisoned, it probably would soon fall; but that the danger he anticipated was from ambuscade, and the exposure of the army in its passage, as it must form a narrow line in its march, near four miles long, and might be cut like a thread into pieces by a watchful enemy. The General re-

plied contemptuously, "These savages may indeed be a formidable enemy to your raw American militia; but upon the king's regular and disciplined troops, sir, it is impossible they should make any impression." He commenced his march on the 4th of June, at the head of about two thousand two hundred men; and, upon his arrival at the meadows where Washington had been defeated the year before, he was informed that the French at Fort Duquesne expected a reinforcement of five hundred troops, and that he might therefore push forward with greater despatch; he left colonel Dunbar, with eight hundred men, at this place, to bring up the stores and baggage. He was not interrupted in his line of march in the way that Franklin had apprehended, but had arrived, on the 8th of July, within ten miles of Fort Duquesne, when a tremendous fire, which opened upon his advanced guard, gave him the first intimation of the presence of an enemy. So thick were the trees and bushes in this quarter, that no human being opposed to them could be seen; and his Indian guides having been dismissed in contempt, all was panic and confusion. The vanguard fell back upon the main body. Then the fire opened upon their flank; and the general, instead of scouring the thickets and bushes, ordered his men to form with parade accuracy, as if to exhibit the officers more conveniently to the marksmen of the enemy.

They began to fall very fast; and the soldiers, hearing no word of command, despaired of keeping together. Braddock at last, having had several horses shot under him, received a musket-ball through the lungs, and fell; then the route became general. Out of eighty-six officers, sixty-three were killed or wounded, and seven hundred and fourteen men. Sir Peter Halket fell by the first fire, at the head of his regiment; and governor Shirley's son, Braddock's secretary, was killed soon after. The loss of the French and Indians is said to have been very considerable, as they were so well concealed. Such of

the British as escaped, though not pursued, made their way to Dunbar's camp as fast as possible; where, communicating the like panic to him and his men, the whole decamped from the frontiers to Philadelphia. On the whole, says Dr Smollett, "this was the most extraordinary victory that ever was obtained, and the farthest flight that ever was made."

Poor Braddock, being borne from the field with difficulty, died in a few days. One of his attendants told Franklin, that on the first day he was completely silent, and only said at night, 'Who would have thought it!' On the second day he said nothing more than that he should know how better to deal with them another time, and expired shortly after. The waggons, baggage, and papers, of the general falling into the enemy's hands, Franklin was afterwards told in France, that there were copies of several, which Braddock had sent to the ministry, speaking highly of his services; but he had to meet at home with the more important opinions of the waggon-owners and others. Some of them began to bring suits against him for his bonds, which amounted to 20,000*l.*, and the payment of which would have been his complete ruin; but general Shirley appointed a commissioner to examine the claims, and finally ordered them to be discharged.

Just before the news of this defeat arrived at Philadelphia, some of Franklin's friends presented him with a subscription-paper for raising the expenses of an exhibition of fireworks, to be made when the news of taking Fort Duquesne should arrive. "It would, I think," said he, "be time enough to prepare for the rejoicing, when we know we should have occasion to rejoice." One of them afterwards said, he never liked Franklin's prognostications.

These events again roused Franklin's military ardour. A new volunteer association was formed, and 60,000*l.* voted by the assembly towards its establishment and expenses, to which the proprietaries themselves ordered 5000*l.* to be added, as a sort of

apology for their exemption from the general tax. Franklin wrote a dialogue, proposing and answering all objections to such militia; and was prevailed upon, while the measure was maturing, to superintend the erection of a line of forts on the frontier. The governor gave him a sort of general's commission, with blank commissions for officers, to be distributed at his pleasure. His son, who had been an officer in the preceding war with Canada, acted as his aid-de-camp; and he soon had between five and six hundred men at his command.

In January 1756, sending forward one detachment of his men towards the Minisink, he proceeded with the main body to Guadenhut, a settlement of the Moravians near Salem, which had been recently destroyed by the enemy. They had first the unpleasant task of burying the numerous dead around them; when, considering this a good situation for the purpose, they proceeded to mark out one of their forts, which was to measure in circumference four hundred and fifty-five feet. Its external construction was of pines, formed into palisades of eighteen feet long, and an average of about one foot in diameter, planted in a trench of three feet deep within; a platform was erected of about six feet high, on which the men were to stand, and fire out of the loop-holes. Franklin says, that in six minutes their wood-cutters would cut down a pine of fourteen inches diameter. This fort, or stockade, was finished in a week, though the weather was very tempestuous; and though it mounted but one swivel-gun, was a sufficient defence against the Indians, who had no artillery. But they also had their tactics. Franklin was particularly struck with their mode of concealing their fires. Instead of kindling them on the surface of the ground, they dug holes of about three feet diameter, and as many deep, in which they burnt charcoal, and so discovered neither flame, sparks, nor smoke.

While here, Franklin saw much of the manners of the Moravians; and remembering they had obtained

an act of parliament, exempting them from military duties in the colonies, was much surprised at first to find their chief settlement at Bethlehem so well defended and appointed. They had a regular fort, at which the brethren mounted guard regularly: they obtained from New York arms and ammunition, and actually crammed the windows of their houses with large stones, for their women to throw down upon the heads of the Indians. He frequented their church, and was much struck with what this sect had always been famous for—the excellence of their music. The whole of each establishment was one family. All worked for a common stock, partook of a common table, and lodged in common dormitories; but their sermons were not delivered to mixed congregations. The married of each sex were separately addressed; as also the unmarried women and men, and the children. Their behaviour, on all occasions, was discreet and methodical, but their general appearance unhealthy and pensive. Franklin inquired respecting the use of the lot in their marriages, and was told, that it was by no means general; but as they lived much together, the young persons of each sex generally consulted the elders of their class as to their choice in marriage; and these persons, being observant of the tempers and dispositions of the young people, commonly gave them advice, upon which they acted. If it occurred, that two or more young women were thought equally proper for a young man, the lot was appealed to, and the decision final. When Franklin observed, that such matches, not made by mutual choice, might end unhappily, "So they might," said the Moravians, "if the parties were to choose for themselves."

Our officer, with all his scepticism, had an established religion, and a zealous presbyterian minister, in his little camp. This gentleman, complaining that the men did not regularly attend prayers, Franklin called his attention to their punctuality in coming morning and evening for their half gill of rum.

"Now," said he to the chaplain, "it is perhaps below the dignity of your profession to act as steward of the rum; but if you were to distribute it out *after prayers*, you would have them all about you." The plan was adopted with general satisfaction; and "never," says Franklin, "were prayers better attended."

His forts being completed, and colonel Clapham, an experienced officer, having taken the command of them, Franklin returned to his legislative duties in Philadelphia; where he found the association in high prosperity, the subordinate officers chosen, and all ranks expecting him to take upon himself the colonelcy. To this he now consented, and found himself in the command of twelve hundred men, with a company of artillery having brass field-pieces, in the use of which they were very expert. The home government however quickly interfered, and again suppressed by law this rising military spirit. Franklin assures us, that his military honours never disturbed his philosophical mind, but that the case was otherwise with his electrical machines, which were half destroyed by a salute fired at his door after the first review of his regiment. Envy had her eye upon him also. Some busybody informed a proprietor, that his officers on one occasion had escorted Franklin out of Philadelphia with drawn swords; an honour which he, the proprietor, gravely complained of as never having been paid to him, or to any of his governors, and which he represented to the minister as a proof of the popular intention to take the government from him by force! He also described Franklin as the great obstacle in Pennsylvania to the king's service, and as constantly interfering to prevent the proper form of money-bills being adopted in the colony. These facts the postmaster-general of England communicated to him, with hints to observe a more cautious conduct.

Very different was the opinion of him which the proprietors' representative, the governor, entertained at this time. On the discomfiture of Braddock, and the cowardly retreat of Dunbar, he offered Franklin

a general's commission, and pressed him to attempt the reduction of Fort Duquesne with the provincial troops. To this however the latter did not feel himself equal, and steadily declined it. Shortly afterwards, Mr Morris was superseded in the government. Franklin considers himself, upon the whole, to have been treated respectfully by this governor. They were each the chief of a party. Morris was educated for the law, and Franklin candidly attributes much of his love of disputation to professional habit; not forgetting the maxim of the profession, that lawyers

“————— though so keen,
Like sheers, cut not themselves, but what's between.”

While our philosopher, if not fond of dispute, was at least fond of discussion, although he had the faculty of conducting it with great good will.

Captain Denny, who succeeded Mr Morris, entered upon his government with endeavours to flatter Franklin into the views of the proprietors. He brought over with him a gold medal which had been voted to Franklin in 1753 by the Royal Society of London, and delivered it to him, with many compliments, at a public entertainment given by the corporation of Philadelphia. Warmed with wine, he became profuse in his attentions and offers. Franklin endeavoured to draw from him what were his instructions; but Denny was cautiously silent upon this topic.* Their nature however quickly transpired in the renewal of the old disputes: until the Assembly, wearied with the perpetual efforts of the proprietary to interfere, as they conceived, with their privileges,

* Captain Denny at this time, having heard of Franklin's intimacy with RALPH, told him, that though Pope had cut short his poetical pretensions by honouring him with a place in the Dunces, he was now reckoned a very able political writer, and had a pension of £200. per annum from the party of prince Frederick. The principal works of this early associate of Franklin's were, *The Use and Abuse of Parliaments*, 2 vols. octavo; *A History of England*, during the reigns of Charles II, James II, and William III, 2 vols. folio; and *the Case of Authors by Profession*, octavo. He died at Chiswick in 1762.

determined to appoint an agent to proceed to England with a petition to the king in council; and fixed upon Mr Franklin as their most competent public man. It is very evident that he was the man of the greatest influence amongst them, and that he deserved to be so. A bill of 60,000*l.* being now required to be passed by the Assembly for the king's use, that body first presented it to the governor, as a tax on all the property of the state; but he refused to pass it, although 10,000*l.* were immediately wanted, and by the provisions of the bill were to be placed at the disposal of lord Loudon, the commander in chief of the troops. After much altercation, Franklin suggested this expedient; to alter the bill at the dictation of the governor, and exempt the proprietors' estates as desired, accompanying it with a pretext, that such alterations were *compulsory*, and that the Assembly in no way conceived the right of the proprietary to the exemption.

Lord Loudon arrived at Philadelphia during this discussion, having it in charge, as he stated, from the home government, to effect a settlement of the disputes between the governor and the Assembly. Franklin had, accordingly, several interviews with him, as the representative of the latter; but little or nothing was effected. His lordship was a man of vacillating mind, acutely characterized, by one of the Philadelphians, as like St George on the signs, always on horseback, but never riding on; first he appeared to admit the unreasonableness of the Assembly's claims, and Franklin conceived that he would have accomplished the work of peace. But he suddenly changed his mind, began to press Franklin to concede the rights of the people, threatening, in case of refusal, to withdraw the army from the frontiers, so that a temporary compromise in the form of the bill above-mentioned was all that resulted.

Franklin had as mean an opinion of his lordship's military conduct, as of his talents for negotiation. He withdrew the army from the frontiers of the

colonies, and detained it, with a fleet of merchant-ships, in the neighbourhood of Sandy-hook, all the summer of 1756 ; until Fort George, on the frontiers of New York, was taken by the French and Indians, and the whole of the back-settlements thrown into alarm. Nor was his conduct without suspicion, as to avaricious motives. He perplexed all the mercantile pursuits of the middle states, during the summer, by laying an embargo on the export of provisions from all the principal forts, ostensibly to prevent the enemy from obtaining supplies, but really, as it was thought, to lower the price of provisions for the benefit of the contractors, in whose profits he had a share. Franklin designates his whole operations in 1756 as "frivolous, expensive, and disgraceful, beyond conception."

We are now arrived at a period of Franklin's life, in which it appears proper to enter more fully into his philosophical attainments and discoveries. He modestly dismisses them with a very brief notice in his personal narrative ; but they had even at this period attained some notoriety in Europe, and no single name was so largely connected as our author's, at last, with the diffusion of the modern taste for electricity. Dr Priestley says, in his history of that science, that "nothing was ever written upon the subject of electricity, which was more generally read, and admired in all parts of Europe than Franklin's letters. There is hardly any European language into which they have not been translated ; and, as if this were not sufficient to make them properly known, a translation has lately been made into Latin. It is not easy to say whether we are most pleased with the simplicity and perspicuity with which these letters are written, the modesty with which the author proposes every hypothesis of his own, or the noble frankness with which he relates his mistakes, when they were corrected by subsequent experiments.

"Though the English have not been backward in acknowledging the merit of the philosopher, he has

had the singular good fortune to be perhaps even more celebrated abroad than at home; so that to form a just idea of the great and deserved reputation of Dr Franklin, we must read the foreign publications on the subject of electricity, in many of which the term *Franklinism*, *Franklinist*, and the *Franklinian system*, occur almost in every page. In consequence of this, Dr Franklin's bids fair to be handed down to posterity, being equally expressive of the true principles of electricity, as the Newtonian philosophy is of the true system of nature in general."

These letters were addressed to his friend Collinson, of whom we have already spoken, and were in fact, in the first instance, a simple report of the success of Franklin and his friends in the use of that gentleman's present of electrical instruments. Finding them acceptable to his friend, and that Dr Fothergill, and some other English philosophers, had permitted the printing of them in the mother-country, until what were called the *Philadelphian experiments* came to be known in Paris, Franklin was encouraged to continue the correspondence. According to the well known compliment paid him afterwards by M. Turgot,* he seems to have been the first person who discovered the affinity between lightning and electricity, which he suggested in an essay written for a neighbour in Philadelphia who established public lectures in that science. This paper he forwarded to England in 1753; but Dr Stuber, Franklin's townsman, and one of his best biographers, has so well vindicated his fame on this subject from some attacks, and digested so complete a narrative of the interest excited both in France and England on this subject, that, at the hazard of some slight repetitions, we shall transcribe that narrative entire:—

"Of all the branches of experimental philosophy, electricity had been least explored. The attractive power of amber is mentioned by Theophrastus and Pliny, and from them by later naturalists. In the

* *ERIPUIT CŒLO FULMEN, SCEPTRUMQUE TYRANNIS.*

year 1600, Gilbert, an English physician, enlarged considerably the catalogue of substances which have the property of attracting light bodies. Boyle, Otto Guericke, a burgomaster of Magdeburg, celebrated as the inventor of the air-pump, Dr Wall, and sir Isaac Newton, added some facts. Guericke first observed the repulsive power of electricity, and the light and noise produced by it. In 1709, Hawkesbec communicated some important observations and experiments to the world. For several years electricity was entirely neglected, until Mr Grey applied himself to it, in 1728, with great assiduity. He, and his friend Mr Wheeler, made a great variety of experiments; in which they demonstrated, that electricity may be communicated from one body to another, even without being in contact, and in this way may be conducted to a great distance. Mr Grey afterwards found that, by suspending rods of iron by silk or hair lines, and bringing an excited tube under them, sparks might be drawn, and a light perceived at the extremities in the dark. M. du Faye, intendant of the French king's gardens, made a number of experiments, which added not a little to the science. He made the discovery of two kinds of electricity, which he called *vitreous* and *resinous*; the former produced by rubbing glass, the latter from excited sulphur, sealing-wax, &c. But this idea he afterwards gave up as erroneous. Between the years 1739 and 1742, Desauguliers made a number of experiments, but added little of importance. He first used the terms *conductors* and *electrics per se*. In 1742, several ingenious Germans engaged in this subject; of these the principal were, professor Boze of Wittemberg, professor Winkler of Leipsic, Gordon, a Scotch Benedictine monk, professor of philosophy at Erfurt, and Dr Ludolf of Berlin. The result of their researches astonished the philosophers of Europe. Their apparatus was large, and by means of it they were enabled to collect large quantities of the electric fluid, and thus to produce phenomena which had been

hitherto unobserved. They killed small birds, and set spirits on fire. Their experiments excited the curiosity of other philosophers. Collinson, about the year 1745, sent to the Library Company of Philadelphia an account of these experiments, together with a tube, and directions how to use it. Franklin, with some of his friends, immediately engaged in a course of experiments ; the result of which is well known. He was enabled to make a number of important discoveries, and to propose theories to account for various phenomena, which have been universally adopted, and which bid fair to endure for ages. His observations he communicated, in a series of letters, to his friend Collinson; the first of which is dated March 28, 1747. In these he shews the power of points in drawing and throwing off the electrical matter, which had hitherto escaped the notice of electricians. He also made the grand discovery of a *plus* and *minus*, or of a *positive* and *negative* state of electricity. We give him the honour of this without hesitation, although the English have claimed it for their countryman Dr Watson. Watson's paper is dated January 21, 1748; Franklin's July 11, 1747; several months prior. Shortly afterwards Franklin, from his principles of the plus and minus state, explained in a satisfactory manner the phenomena of the Leyden phial, first observed by Mr Cuneus, or by professor Muschenbroeck, of Leyden, which had much perplexed philosophers. He shewed clearly, that the bottle, when charged, contained no more electricity than before, but that as much was taken from one side as was thrown on the other; and that, to discharge it, nothing was necessary but to produce a communication between the two sides, by which the equilibrium might be restored, and that then no signs of electricity would remain. He afterwards demonstrated by experiments, that the electricity did not reside in the coating, as had been supposed, but in the pores of the glass itself. After a phial was charged, he removed the coating, and found that, upon applying

a new coating, the shock might still be received. In the year 1749 he first suggested his idea of explaining the phenomena of thunder-gusts, and of the aurora borealis, upon electrical principles. He points out many particulars in which lightning and electricity agree; and he adduces many facts, and reasonings from facts, in support of his positions. In the same year he conceived the astonishingly bold and grand idea of ascertaining the truth of his doctrine by actually drawing down the lightning with sharp-pointed iron rods raised into the region of the clouds. Even in this uncertain state, his passion to be useful to mankind displays itself in a powerful manner. Admitting the identity of electricity and lightning, and knowing the power of points in repelling bodies charged with electricity, and in conducting their fire silently and imperceptibly, he suggested the idea of securing houses, ships, &c. from being damaged by lightning, by erecting pointed rods that should rise some feet above the most elevated part, and descend some feet into the ground or the water. The effect of these, he concluded, would be either to prevent a stroke by repelling the cloud beyond the striking distance, or by drawing off the electrical fire which it contained; or, if they could not effect this, they would at least conduct the electric matter to the earth, without any injury to the building.

"It was not until the summer of 1752 that he was enabled to complete his grand and unparalleled discovery by experiment. The plan which he had originally proposed was, to erect on some high tower, or other elevated place, a sentry-box, from which should rise a pointed iron rod, insulated by being fixed in a cake of resin. Electrified clouds passing over this, would, he conceived, impart to it a portion of their electricity, which would be rendered evident to the senses by sparks being emitted, when a key, the knuckle, or other conductor, was presented to it. Philadelphia at this time afforded no opportunity of

trying an experiment of this kind. While Franklin was waiting for the erection of a spire, it occurred to him that he might have more ready access to the region of clouds by means of a common kite. He prepared one by fastening two cross-sticks to a silk handkerchief, which would not suffer so much from the rain as paper. To the upright stick was affixed an iron point; the string was, as usual, of hemp, except the lower end, which was silk. Where the hempen string terminated, a key was fastened. With this apparatus, on the appearance of a thunder-gust approaching, he went out into the common, accompanied by his son, to whom alone he communicated his intentions, well knowing the ridicule which, too generally for the interests of science, awaits unsuccessful experiments in philosophy. He placed himself under a shade, to avoid the rain: his kite was raised—a thunder-cloud passed over it—no sign of electricity appeared. He almost despaired of success, when suddenly he observed the loose fibres of his string to move towards an erect position. He now presented his knuckle to the key, and received a strong spark. How exquisite must his sensations have been at this moment! On this experiment depended the fate of his theory. If he succeeded, his name would rank high among those who had improved science; if he failed, he must inevitably be subjected to the derision of mankind, or, what is worse, their pity, as a well-meaning man, but a weak, silly projector. The anxiety with which he looked for the result of his experiment may be easily conceived. Doubts and despair had begun to prevail, when the fact was ascertained in so clear a manner, that even the most incredulous could no longer withhold their assent. Repeated sparks were drawn from the key, a phial was charged, a shock given, and all the experiments made which are usually performed with electricity.

“About a month before this period, some ingenious Frenchman had completed the discovery in the manner originally proposed by Dr Franklin. The letters

he sent to Mr Collinson, it is said, were refused a place in the Transactions of the Royal Society of London. However this may be, Collinson published them in a separate volume, under the title of 'New Experiments and Observations on Electricity, made at Philadelphia in America.' They were read with avidity, and soon translated into different languages. A very incorrect French translation fell into the hands of the celebrated Buffon, who, notwithstanding the disadvantages under which the work laboured, was much pleased with it, and repeated the experiments with success. He prevailed on his friend, M. D'Alibard, to give his countryman a more correct translation of the works of the American electrician. This contributed much towards spreading a knowledge of Franklin's principles in France. The king, Louis XV, hearing of these experiments, expressed a wish to be a spectator of them. A course of experiments was given at the seat of the Duc D'Ayen, at St. Germain, by M. de Lor. The applauses which the king bestowed upon Franklin excited in Buffon, D'Alibard, and De Lor, an earnest desire of ascertaining the truth of his theory of thunder-gust. Buffon erected his apparatus on the tower of Montbar, M. D'Alibard at Mary-la-ville, and De Lor at his house in the *Estrapede* at Paris, some of the highest ground in that capital. D'Alibard's machine first showed signs of electricity. On the 10th of May, 1752, a thunder-cloud passed over it in the absence of M. D'Alibard, and a number of sparks were drawn from it by Coffier, a joiner, with whom D'Alibard had left directions how to proceed, and by M. Raulet, the prior of Mary-la-ville. An account of this experiment was given to the Royal Academy of Sciences, by M. D'Alibard, in a memoir dated May 13th, 1752. On the 18th of May, M. de Lor proved equally successful with the apparatus erected at his own house. These philosophers soon excited those of other parts of Europe to repeat the experiment; amongst whom none signalized themselves more than father Beccaria

of Turin, to whose observations science is much indebted. Even the cold regions of Russia were penetrated by the ardour for discovery. Professor Richman bade fair to add much to the stock of knowledge on this subject, when an unfortunate flash from his conductor put a period to his existence. The friends of science will long remember with regret the amiable martyr to electricity.

“By these experiments, Franklin’s theory was established in the most convincing manner. When the truth of it could no longer be doubted, envy and vanity endeavoured to detract from its merit. That an American, an inhabitant of the obscure city of Philadelphia, the name of which was hardly known, should be able to make discoveries, and to frame theories, which had escaped the notice of the enlightened philosophers of Europe, was too mortifying to be admitted. He must certainly have taken the idea from some one else. An American, a being of an inferior order, make discoveries!—Impossible! It was said, that the abbé Nollet, in 1748, had suggested the idea of the similarity of lightning and electricity in his *Leçons de Physique*. It is true, that the abbé mentions the idea, but he throws it out as a bare conjecture, and proposes no mode of ascertaining the truth of it. He himself acknowledges, that Franklin first entertained the bold thought of bringing lightning from the heavens, by means of pointed rods fixed in the air. The similarity of lightning and electricity is so strong, that we need not be surprised at notice being taken of it, as soon as electrical phenomena become familiar. We find it mentioned by Dr Wall and Mr Grey, while the science was in its infancy. But the honour of forming a regular theory of thunder-gusts, of suggesting a mode of determining the truth of it by experiments, and of putting these experiments in practice, and thus establishing the theory upon a firm and solid basis, is incontestably due to Franklin. D’Alibard, who made the first

experiments in France, says that he only followed the track which Franklin had pointed out.

"It has been of late asserted, that the honour of completing the experiment with the kite does not belong to Franklin. Some recent English paragraphs have attributed it to some Frenchman, whose name they do not mention; and the abbé Bertholon gives it to M. de Romas, assessor to the presideal of Nerac: the English paragraphs probably refer to the same person. But a very slight attention will convince us of the injustice of this procedure: Dr Franklin's experiment was made in June 1752; and his letter, giving an account of it, is dated October 19, 1752. M. de Romas made his first attempt on the 14th of May 1753, but was not successful until the 7th of June; a year after Franklin had completed the discovery, and when it was known to all the philosophers in Europe.

"Besides these great principles, Franklin's letters on electricity contain a number of facts and hints, which have contributed greatly towards reducing this branch of knowledge to a science. His friend, Mr Kinnersley, communicated to him a discovery of the different kinds of electricity excited by rubbing glass and sulphur. This was first observed by M. du Faye; but it was for many years neglected. The philosophers were disposed to account for the phenomena rather from a difference in the quantity of electricity collected; and even Du Faye himself seems at last to have adopted this doctrine. Franklin at first entertained the same idea; but, upon repeating the experiments, he perceived that Mr. Kinnersley was right, and that the *vitreous* and *resinous* electricity of Du Faye were nothing more than the *positive* and *negative* states which he had before observed; and that the glass globe charged *positively*, or increased the quantity of electricity on the prime conductor, while the globe of sulphur diminished its natural quantity, or charged *negatively*. These experiments

and observations opened a new field for investigation, upon which electricians entered with avidity; and their labours have added much to the stock of our knowledge.

"In September 1752, Franklin entered upon a course of experiments to determine the state of electricity in the clouds. From a number of experiments he formed this conclusion:—'That the clouds of a thunder-gust are most commonly in a negative state of electricity, but sometimes in a positive state;' and from this it follows, as a necessary consequence, 'that, for the most part, in thunder-strokes, it is the earth that strikes into the clouds, and not the clouds that strike into the earth.' The letter containing these observations is dated in September 1753; and yet the discovery of ascending thunder has been said to be of a modern date, and has been attributed to the abbé Bertholon, who published his memoir on the subject in 1776.

"Franklin's letters have been translated into most of the European languages, and into Latin. In proportion as they have become known, his principles have been adopted. Some opposition was made to his theories, particularly by the abbé Nollet, who was however but feebly supported, while the first philosophers in Europe stepped forth in defence of Franklin's principles, amongst whom D'Alibard and Beccaria were the most distinguished. The opposition has gradually ceased, and the Franklinian system is now universally adopted where science flourishes.

"The important practical use which Franklin made of his discoveries, the securing of houses from injury by lightning, has been already mentioned. Pointed conductors are now very common in America; but prejudice has hitherto prevented their general introduction into Europe, notwithstanding the most undoubted proofs of their utility have been given. But mankind can with difficulty be brought to lay aside established practices, or to adopt new ones; and perhaps we have more reason to be surprised that a

practice, however rational, which was proposed about forty years ago, should in that time have been adopted in so many places, than that it has not universally prevailed."

Mr Franklin, in the year 1753, had received the degree of master of arts from Yale College in Connecticut, and from the college of Cambridge in New England. About the same time his papers on electricity were abridged, by the celebrated Dr Watson, amongst the papers of the Royal Society, who presented him with the honour of a fellowship gratuitously, and without any application on his part. It was the gold medal of sir Godfrey Copley, which he received this year, as before mentioned, and which was accompanied by a copy of the very handsome complimentary speech of the president, the earl of Macclesfield.

To return to our narrative; Franklin, having prepared to sail from New York about the beginning of April, was detained by the dilatory measures of lord Loudon till near the end of June. The *next* day was always appointed for the receiving of his despatches, until three or four packets full of passengers were thus waiting upon his lordship at New York. One of the captains having told lord Loudon that his vessel was foul, and that he should require extra time to clean her, the general asked what time? The captain said three days. Loudon answered, "If you can do it in one day, I give leave, but not otherwise, for you must certainly sail the day after to-morrow." He therefore never obtained leave, though afterwards detained here full three months. While Franklin was waiting, he endeavoured to obtain of the general the balance due to him for the supplies he had furnished his predecessor, Braddock: and lord Loudon, having fully investigated the accounts, certified their correctness, but never paid him. When Franklin remonstrated upon the subject of his loss, both of time and money, in the public service, his lordship told him, he says, very

plainly, that he must not think of persuading him that he would be no gainer. "We understand these matters better," said he, "and know, that every one concerned in supplying the army, finds means in the doing of it to fill his own pockets." He finally recommended Franklin to exhibit his accounts to the treasury in London.

At length our philosopher was dismissed from his native shores, on board a vessel which the captain declared to be the swiftest on the packet service, and able to make thirteen knots an hour. She proved however to be too much loaded ahead. He had, as a fellow passenger, captain Kennedy (afterwards lord Cassilis) who had served in the British navy, and who ridiculed the captain's account of the sailing of his vessel; but when the lading was removed backward, and she had a fair wind, Kennedy threw the log himself, and acknowledged that she made the thirteen knots per hour. Franklin suggests from this the propriety of adopting philosophical principles in this, as in every other part of ship building. The naval passenger proved the preservation of the ship; for, on approaching the British shores, after they had taken an observation, from which the captain judged himself near Falmouth, all but the watch had retired to rest, when the ship was suddenly discovered to be running on the Scilly rocks. Mr Kennedy, on this occasion, was one of the first on deck, and perceiving the danger, ordered the ship instantly to wear round, sails standing, by which means she just escaped striking on the rocks. They were so near, Franklin says, that the light appeared to him as large as a cart-wheel. On the morning of the 17th of July, the fog clearing up disclosed the town of Falmouth, with England's beautiful fields and busy vessels. It seems to have been Sunday morning, and Franklin's heart responded on this occasion to the sound of Sabbath bells. On landing, he says, "the bell ringing for church, we went thither immediately, and with hearts full of gratitude, returned sincere thanks to

God for the mercies we had received. Were I a Roman Catholic," he adds, "perhaps I should on this occasion vow to build a chapel to some saint; but as I am not, if I were to vow at all, it should be to build a lighthouse." Having his eldest son, William Franklin, with him at this time, he was induced to stop and explore Stonehenge, on Salisbury plain. He also visited lord Pembroke's house and gardens at Wilton, arriving in London, July the 27th, 1757.

In England Mr Franklin had to encounter many disheartening circumstances. The prejudices of the public mind were strong against the colonies, in consequence of the representations of interested individuals, who filled the public papers with 'intelligence from Philadelphia,' manufactured in London, which always described the houses of assembly as turbulent, illiberal, and unprincipled. The ministry were also too deeply occupied at this time with European politics, and the fluctuating warfare on the Continent, to afford much attention to the discussion of complex provincial affairs, and were very reluctant to interpose between the colonial governments and the proprietaries; the agent for Philadelphia did not however pause long over his difficulties. By the means of that press which he found so remarkably busy with Pennsylvanian affairs, he was determined to make that appeal to public opinion, which he had never hitherto attempted in vain.

A paper which appeared about this time in the General Advertiser, gave him a proper opportunity of bringing those affairs before the public. The writer dwelt upon the dreadful ravages which the Indians were committing in the back-settlements of America, and stated, that while the enemy was advancing into the heart of the country, the disputes between the government and the Assembly were as violent as ever. It forcibly described the litigious and obstinate spirit of the Quakers, and declared that the bills which the Assembly passed were so clogged with conditions, that the governor could not sign them.

Franklin soon saw through this fabrication, and that it was in fact a *ruse de guerre* of the proprietary to destroy the effect of his mission to the government: but as the object of that mission was to bring affairs to an amicable issue, he thought it would be premature to enter too formally into a refutation of these calumnies; and therefore drew up a very cautious paper in reply, bearing his son's name. This was inserted in the same journal as the above-mentioned attack, from which it was copied into other papers. In this piece he contended that Pennsylvania suffered no more from the Indians than other colonies; that the people on the frontiers were not Quakers; that they were supplied with arms, and often repelled the enemy. He shewed that the disputes were chiefly occasioned by instructions from England, forbidding the governor to sanction any acts of the Assembly for raising taxes, unless the proprietors; estates were either exempted from the burthen altogether, or nearly so. He then proved that the Quakers composed but a small part of the existing population, and that the inhabitants, with the exception of the proprietary officers and their dependants, were unanimous in asserting their civil rights, and resisting the impositions of the proprietary, which they could consider only as a species of oppression and fraud. He proceeded to shew that every thing had been done by Pennsylvania to secure the frontier of the province, and to protect the commerce of the neighbouring governments, without any contributions from either those colonies themselves, or the parent kingdom; and that the Quakers, so far from really being litigious, had even declined sitting in the Assembly, lest they should be thought so.

Notwithstanding the popularity of this letter, opposition continued, and the public journals abounded with papers, charging the Pennsylvanians with ingratitude, injustice, and disaffection, as well to the proprietary as the parent country. Franklin resolved upon drawing up a statistical account of the real state of the province, adapted for general informa-

tion, and accompanied by suitable reflections and observations. The title of this volume, published in 1759, and containing five hundred closely printed pages, was "An Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania from its Origin; so far as regards the several points of controversy which have from time to time arisen between the several governors of Pennsylvania, and their several assemblies: founded on authentic Documents." The motto prefixed to it was, "THOSE WHO GIVE UP ESSENTIAL LIBERTY, TO PURCHASE A LITTLE TEMPORARY SAFETY, DESERVE NEITHER LIBERTY NOR SAFETY." This work being anonymous, was attributed to RALPH the historian, a circumstance supposed to have been concerted by Franklin, with a view to avert all jealousies from himself as the author. The style and spirit of the work however, and especially the dedication to Mr Speaker Onslow, clearly prove from whom this publication proceeded.

The effect of this publication was considerable, and removed in a great measure the prejudice that had been entertained against the colonies; but the proprietaries still remaining inflexible in their opposition, the American delegate presented a petition to the Privy Council, for the final adjustment of all differences; and so confident were his constituents of his final success, that the Assembly, before the affairs were formally decided, passed a law for the levying a general tax, in which the proprietary estates were not exempted; and the bill received the sanction of governor Denny! It is true the proprietaries endeavoured to prevent the royal sanction being given to the bill, and were represented by able advocates before the Privy Council; but the facts of the case being fairly brought out, an accommodation was at last proposed, by which the Pennsylvanians agreed to submit their estates to all taxes and impositions, on condition that they should not be over-rated. Franklin's conduct throughout the business gave great satisfaction to all parties. He engaged his honour for the equitable and moderate imposition of the tax

in regard to the estates of the proprietaries, and appears never to have subjected himself to any complaint from them on account of this stipulation. Thus, while gaining from his opponents an unquestionable tribute to his integrity, he obtained from them, on behalf of his constituents, the concession of every principle at issue; jealousies, which had been existing for generations between the governors of Pennsylvania and the Assembly, were happily extinguished; taxation bore equally on all property, which made every one more content to bear it; and to this period, at least, in the history of America, such taxation was imposed by those who had to pay it. Such a conclusion of the business was naturally regarded by the Pennsylvanians as a triumph of no small importance to them. The character and talents of Franklin marked him out as perhaps the most able man of public business which America had produced. He was therefore solicited to remain in London as an accredited agent for Pennsylvania; and Maryland, Georgia, and Massachusetts Bay, made application to him to become their agent likewise in England.

Franklin now indulged in the society of those friends whom his talents had procured him, and who rapidly increased. His company indeed was courted by persons of the first distinction both in the political and literary world.

The universities of St Andrews, Edinburgh, and Oxford, unsolicited, conferred upon him the degree of doctor of laws; and the last of these learned bodies gave the degree of master of arts to his son. The following is a copy of the entry of those honours at Oxford:—

BENJ. FRANKLIN, esq. Provinc. Pennsylvan. Deputat. ad Curiam Sereniss. Legat. Tabellariorum per Americam Septentrionalem Præfectus Generalis, et Veredariorum totius Novæ Angliæ, et R. S. S. cr. D. C. L. Apr. 30, 1762.

FRANKLIN (WILL.) esq. Juris Municip. Consult. cr. M. A. Apr. 30, 1762.

CHAPTER VII.

Dr Franklin suggests improvements in the paving and lighting Philadelphia and London.—Humorous epistle on early rising.—Experiment on the tourmalin-stone.—Invention of the armonica.—Dr Franklin advises the British Government to attack Canada.—Expedition under General Wolfe undertaken accordingly.—Battle of Quebec.—Advocates the retaining of Canada at the peace.—Returns home.—Observations made during the voyage on the effects of oil in calming water.—Well received in Philadelphia.—The Pariton murder, and his conduct.—Fresh disputes between the Government and the Assembly.—Suggests a petition to the king to assume the government of the province.—Loses his election to the Assembly, but re-appointed agent to Great Britain.—Sails thither.

DR FRANKLIN was born to unite the great and the minute; to shine in his sober way in courts, without disdaining to lend his aid to the most humble methods of being useful to mankind. While he was in England, at this time, a bill passed the Pennsylvanian Assembly for paving the city of Philadelphia. For the success of this measure, he had been obliged to adopt his old plan of circulating a few plain arguments respecting its necessity amongst the people; while, by a private subscription, he effected the paving and regular cleaning of the Jersey market-place, where he lived. One addition was however made to the bill in his absence, that of a provision for lighting as well as paving the streets, which he candidly disclaims, though it has been generally ascribed to him. Its author, he says, was a Mr John Clifton.

But the agitation of this measure turned his attention to the general subject of paving and lighting large cities; and while resident in London, he made several useful observations on the construction of street-lamps, and on cleansing the public streets; the principal of which suggestions have been since carried into effect. The following fine apology is

addressed to those who "may think these trifling matters not worth minding, or relating. Human felicity," says Franklin, "is produced not so much by great pieces of good fortune that seldom happen, as by little advantages that occur every day. Thus, if you teach a poor young man to shave himself, and keep his razor in order, you may contribute more to the happiness of his life, than in giving him one thousand guineas. This sum may be soon spent, the regret only remaining of having foolishly consumed it, but in the other case he escapes the frequent vexation of waiting for barbers, and of their sometimes dirty fingers, offensive breaths, and dull razors; he shaves when most convenient to him, and enjoys daily the pleasure of its being done with a good instrument. With these sentiments I have hazarded the few preceding pages, hoping they may afford hints which some time or other may be useful to a city I love (having lived many years in it very happily) and perhaps to some of our towns in America."

The following humorous epistle, first addressed to the editor of one of the daily papers in Paris, some few years after this period, is so much in point here, and contains so good a lecture upon early rising, that the reader will not think any apology necessary for introducing it:—

"MESSIEURS,—You often entertain us with accounts of new discoveries. Permit me to communicate to the public, through your paper, one that has lately been made by myself, and which I conceive may be of great utility.

"I was the other evening in a great company, where the new lamp of Messrs Quinquet and Lange was introduced, and much admired for its splendour; but a general inquiry was made, whether the oil it consumed was not in proportion to the light it afforded, in which case there would be no saving in the use of it. No one present could satisfy us in that point,

which all agreed ought to be known, it being a very desirable thing to lessen, if possible, the expense of lighting our apartments, when every other article of family expense was so much augmented.

"I was pleased to see this general concern for economy, for I love economy exceedingly.

"I went home, and to bed, three or four hours after midnight, with my head full of the subject. An accidental sudden noise waked me about six in the morning, when I was surprised to find my room filled with light; and I imagined at first, that a number of those lamps had been brought into it: but, rubbing my eyes, I perceived the light came in at the windows. I got up, and looked out to see what might be the occasion of it, when I saw the sun just rising above the horizon, whence he poured his rays plentifully into my chamber, my domestic having negligently omitted the preceding evening to close the shutters.

"I looked at my watch, which goes very well, and found that it was about six o'clock; and still thinking it something extraordinary that the sun should rise so early, I looked into the almanack, where I found it to be the hour given for its rising on that day. I looked forward too, and found he was to rise still earlier every day till towards the end of June; and that at no time in the year he retarded his rising so long as till eight o'clock. Your readers, who with me have never seen any signs of sunshine before noon, and seldom regard the astronomical part of the almanack, will be as much astonished as I was, when they hear of his rising so early; and especially when I assure them, *that he gives light as soon as he rises*. I am convinced of this. I am certain of my fact. I saw it with my own eyes. And having repeated this observation the three following mornings, I found always precisely the same result.

"Yet it so happens, that when I speak of this discovery to others, I can easily perceive by their countenances, though they forbear expressing it in words,

that they do not quite believe me. One indeed, who is a learned natural philosopher, has assured me, that I must certainly be mistaken as to the circumstance of the light coming into my room ; for it being well known, as he says, that there could be no light abroad at that hour, it follows that none could enter from without ; and that of consequence, my windows being accidentally left open, instead of letting in the light, had only served to let out the darkness : and he used many ingenious arguments to shew me how I might, by that means, have been deceived. I own that he puzzled me a little, but he did not satisfy me ; and the subsequent observations I made, as above mentioned, confirmed me in my first opinion.

“ This event has given rise, in my mind, to several serious and important reflections. I considered that, if I had not been awakened so early in the morning, I should have slept six hours longer by the light of the sun, and in exchange, have lived six hours the following night by candle-light ; and the latter being a much more expensive light than the former, my love of economy induced me to muster up what little arithmetic I was master of, and to make some calculations, which I shall give you, after observing, that utility is, in my opinion, the test of value in matters of invention, and that a discovery which can be applied to no use, or is not good for something, is good for nothing.

“ I took for the basis of my calculation the supposition, that there are 100,000 families in Paris, and that these families consume in the night half a pound of bougie, or candles, per hour. I think this is a moderate allowance, taking one family with another ; for though I believe some consume less, I know that many consume a great deal more. Then, estimating seven hours per day as the medium quantity between the time of the sun's rising and ours, he rising during the six following months from six to eight hours before noon, and there being seven hours of course

per night in which we burn candles, the account will stand thus:—

“In the six months between the twentieth of March and the twentieth of September there are

Nights	183
Hours of each night in which we burn candles	7

Multiplication gives for the total num- ber of hours	1,281
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These 1,281 hours, multiplied by 100,000, the number of inhabi- tants given	128,100,000
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One hundred and twenty-eight millions and one hundred thousand hours spent at Paris by candle-light, which, at half a pound of wax and tallow per hour, gives the weight of	64,050,000
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Sixty-four millions and fifty thousand of pounds, which, estimating the whole at the medium price of thirty sols the pound, makes the sum of ninety-six millions and seventy-five thousand livres tour- nois	96,075,000
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“An immense sum ! that the city of Paris might save every year, by the economy of using sunshine instead of candles.

“If it should be said, that people are apt to be obstinately attached to old customs, and that it will be difficult to induce them to rise before noon, consequently my discovery can be of little use ; I answer, *Nil desperandum*. I believe all who have common sense, as soon as they have learnt from this paper, that it is day-light when the sun rises, will contrive to rise with him ; and to compel the rest, I would propose the following regulations :—

"First. Let a tax be laid of a louis per window, on every window that is provided with shutters to keep out the light of the sun.

"Second. Let the same salutary operation of police be made use of to prevent our burning candles, that inclined us last winter to be more economical in burning wood; that is, let guards be placed in the shops of the wax and tallow-chandlers, and no family be permitted to be supplied with more than one pound of candles per week.

"Third. Let guards also be posted to stop all the coaches, &c., that would pass the streets after sunset, except those of physicians, surgeons, and midwives.

"Fourth. Every morning, as soon as the sun rises, let all the bells in every church be set a ringing; and if that is not sufficient, let cannon be fired in every street, to wake the sluggards effectually, and make them open their eyes to see their true interest.

"All the difficulty will be in the first two or three days; after which the reformation will be as natural and easy as the present irregularity; for *ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte*. Oblige a man to rise at four in the morning, and it is more than probable he shall go willingly to bed at eight in the evening; and, having had eight hours' sleep, he will rise more willingly at four the following morning. But this sum of ninety-six millions and seventy-five thousand livres, is not the whole of what may be saved by my economical project. You may observe, that I have calculated upon only one half of the year, and much may be saved in the other, though the days are shorter. Besides, the immense stock of wax and tallow left unconsumed during the summer, will probably make candles much cheaper for the ensuing winter, and continue cheaper as long as the proposed reformation shall be supported.

"For the great benefit of this discovery, thus freely communicated and bestowed by me on the public, I demand neither place, pension, exclusive privilege, nor

any other reward whatever. I expect only to have the honour of it. And yet I know there are little, envious minds who will, as usual, deny me this, and say that my invention was known to the ancients, and perhaps they may bring passages out of the old books in proof of it. I will not dispute with these people that the ancients knew not the sun would rise at certain hours; they possibly had, as we have, almanacks that predicted it: but it does not follow from thence, that they knew *he gave light as soon as he rose*. This is what I claim as my discovery. If the ancients knew it, it must have been long since forgotten, for it certainly was unknown to the moderns, at least to the Parisians; which to prove, I need use but one plain simple argument. They are as well instructed, judicious, and prudent a people as exist anywhere in the world, all professing, like myself, to be lovers of economy; and, from the many heavy taxes required from them by the necessities of the state, have surely reason to be economical. I say it is impossible that so sensible a people, under such circumstances, should have lived so long by the smoky, unwholesome, and enormously expensive light of candles, if they had really known that they might have had as much pure light of the sun for nothing.

“I am, &c.

“AN ABONNE.”

Dr Franklin is certainly from this time to be considered rather as a statesman than a professed philosopher; but he continued to extend his researches into electricity, and particularly examined, in 1759, the tourmalin, a stone which has the singular property of being electrified positively on one side, and negatively on the other, by heat alone, without friction. Professor Simpson of Glasgow, too, reported to Dr Franklin some experiments (made by Dr Cullen) on the cold produced by the evaporation of air; the latter endeavoured to improve upon them, and found by the evaporation of ether in the exhausted receiver of an

air-pump, so great a degree of cold was produced in a warm summer's day, that water was congealed by it. Among other things, he applied this discovery to the solution of the following phenomena, which had hitherto been unexplained:—"That the temperature of the human body, when in health, never exceeds 96° of Fahrenheit's thermometer, though the atmosphere which surrounds it may be heated in a much greater degree;" which, on this principle, he attributed to increased perspiration, and consequent evaporation.

In 1760 he mentions, in a letter to Mr Small, some observations tending to shew, that in North America the north-east storms regularly begin in the south-west, and instances one particularly, which, extending a considerable distance, commenced at Philadelphia, and four hours afterwards was felt at Boston. This he accounts for by supposing, that the heat about the gulf of Mexico occasioned considerable rarefaction of the air, and that the air farther north, rushing in, was succeeded by cooler and denser air still farther north, until it occasioned a perpetual current in this direction.

It was during this visit to London also that, being delighted with the tones produced by wet fingers pressed along the brim of different sized glasses, he endeavoured to make an instrument which should include three complete and regular octaves: he describes it at length, in a letter to the celebrated father Beccaria*.

Dr Franklin, as a politician, considered himself at this time a *bond fide* member of the great British commonwealth, and entered warmly into the state of the general politics of this country. Conceiving that, by prosecuting the war with France upon the European continent, we were expending our resources upon objects of no permanent British interest, he warmly recommended, in all companies, an attack upon French North America. The subsequent disputes between the mother-country and her colonies

* Vide Appendix. No. 2.

were calculated to throw our author's exertions upon this point into the shade ; but, in a cool review of facts, there can be little doubt that Great Britain was, and is, indebted to him for the possession of Canada. With the first William Pitt he could not at this time obtain any personal interview. " I considered him as an inaccessible," he says ; " I admired him at a distance, and (after some failures) made no more attempts for a nearer acquaintance." But through his secretaries, Messrs Potter and Wood, who cultivated our author's acquaintance, that great minister was very happy to receive his suggestions, and frequently mentions his high opinion of him.

He pressed upon government the relative situation of the Indians with regard to the English and French possessions, and urged that so long as the arts and arms of France were aided by the local knowledge, and were perpetually fostering the ill will, of the native tribes, our western frontiers would always be exposed to predatory warfare, and that the French had been encroaching upon our colonies from their first settlement in the country.

Mr Pitt is said to have been " determined, by the simple accuracy of his statements," to undertake the expedition, which, it is unnecessary to say, was so ably executed by the lamented Wolfe. It is singular that Franklin should thus have been connected first with events that more completely humbled the French power abroad, than any other occurrence of the last century ; and that he should subsequently live to wield the power of France for the equally decided humiliation of Great Britain.

In the year 1760, upon the prospect of a peace with France, he engaged in a controversy on the relative importance of Great Britain retaining Guadaloupe or Canada, a subject upon which lord Bath had previously addressed a letter to two great men. Our author's reasoning on this occasion was, that the security of a dominion is a justifiable and prudent ground upon which to demand cession from an enemy ; that

the erection of forts on the western frontier had been by no means a sufficient security against the Indians and the French; but that the possession of Canada would be, and ought therefore to be had while it was in our power; that the blood and treasure spent in the American war, were not spent in the cause of the colonies alone; and that the French remaining in Canada was an encouragement to the disaffected in the colonies. He was always remarkable for strengthening his arguments by matters of fact. In stating the advantages to the mother-country arising from her increasing trade with the colonies, he instances that which was then carrying on with Pennsylvania alone, and quotes the following table of its amazingly rapid increase:—

An Account of the Value of the Exports from England to Pennsylvania, in one Year, taken at different periods.

	£.	s.	d.
In 1723 they amounted only to	15,992	19	4
1730 they were	48,592	7	6
1737	56,690	6	7
1742	75,295	3	4
1747	82,404	17	7
1752	201,666	19	11
1757	268,426	6	6

Dr Franklin visited Scotland during his stay in Great Britain at this time; but we have no other record of his journey into that country, than his being greeted with the honorary title of doctor of laws by the university of St Andrews.

At this period too the government of New Jersey happening to fall vacant, the minister, without any solicitation on his part, conferred it on the doctor's eldest son.

Our author returned to America in the summer of 1762, relieving the tedium of the voyage by making observations on the well known effect of oil in calming sea-water. This he at first considered, with many

others, as inexplicable ; but he could not rest without attempting to trace the cause—which he finally considered to be, that oil spreads upon water to an inconceivable thinness, and becomes instrumental in preventing the formation of waves: whence air in motion, which is wind, in passing over the smooth surface of such water, cannot easily catch upon it, so as to raise the first wrinkles or waves ; but slides over and leaves it smooth as it finds it. This subject he canvassed in two or three ingenious papers, which are too well known to need insertion here.

On his arrival, Dr Franklin received the thanks of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, “as well for the faithful discharge of his duty to that province in particular, as for the many and important services done to America in general, during his residence in Great Britain.” A compensation of 5000*l*. Pennsylvania currency was also decreed him for his services during six years.

He had been regularly elected during his absence a member of the Assembly.

In the December of this year, a circumstance exciting considerable local alarm took place in Pennsylvania, and again called forth both the pen and active efforts of Dr Franklin. A considerable body of Indians had taken up their abode in the county of Lancaster, and lived very peaceably amongst the white inhabitants, until the depredations of the native tribes on the frontiers was made the pretext for a vow, on the part of a great number of the latter, to extirpate their unoffending black neighbours. About one hundred and twenty persons, principally inhabitants of Donegal and Peckstang or Paxton townships, in the county of York, assembled, mounted on horseback, and proceeded to the settlement of these harmless and defenceless Indians, whose number had now been reduced to about twenty. The Indians received intelligence of the attack which was intended against them, but disbelieved it. Considering the white people as their friends, they apprehended no danger

from them. When the party arrived at the Indian settlement, they found only some women and children, and a few old men, the rest being absent at work. They murdered all whom they found, and amongst others the chief Shaheas, who had been always distinguished for his friendship to the whites. This bloody deed excited much indignation in the well-disposed part of the community.

The remainder of these unfortunate Indians, who by absence had escaped the massacre, were conducted to Lancaster, and lodged in the gaol as a place of security. The governor issued a proclamation, expressing the strongest disapprobation of the action, offering a reward for the discovery of the perpetrators of the deed, and prohibiting all injuries to the peaceful Indians in future: but, notwithstanding this, a party of the same men shortly after marched to Lancaster, broke open the gaol, and inhumanly butchered the innocent Indians who had been placed there for security. Another proclamation was issued, but it had no effect. A detachment marched down to Philadelphia, for the express purpose of murdering some friendly Indians who had been removed to the city for safety. A number of the citizens armed in their defence. The Quakers, whose principles are opposed to fighting, even in their own defence, were most active upon this occasion. The rioters came to Germantown. The governor fled for safety to the house of Dr Franklin, who with some others advanced to meet the Paxton boys, as they were called, and had influence enough to prevail upon them to relinquish their undertaking, and return to their homes*.

In the following year the old disputes between the assemblies and the proprietaries were again revived. The governor refused to pass the militia bill, unless the Assembly would agree to certain amendments which he proposed for increasing the fines, and in some cases substituting death for fines. He desired

* Dr Stuber's Narrative.

also that the officers should be appointed altogether by himself, and not be nominated by the people, as the bill had proposed : amendments which the Assembly considered as inconsistent with their liberties, and respecting which neither party agreeing, the bill was never carried. Franklin on this occasion addressed the freemen of Pennsylvania on the subject of a militia bill rejected by the proprietors' deputy or governor.

Shortly after, the Assembly resolved upon petitioning the throne to take the government of the province out of the hands of the proprietors, making such compensation to the Penn family as to his majesty's wisdom and goodness might appear just and equitable. This formidable proposal did not pass the house without rousing the most strenuous opposition on the part of all the proprietary interest and its connexions. Speeches for and against the measure were published, and republished in England. Dr Franklin wrote a preface to the speech of Joseph Galloway, esq., one of the members of Philadelphia county, in which he says that the celebrated William Penn himself, sensible of the inconvenience of a proprietary government, and being desirous of leaving his people happy, had "determined to take it away, if possible, during his own lifetime;" that he accordingly entered into a contract for the sale of the proprietary right of government to the crown, and actually received a sum of money in part of the consideration. "Surely," continues Franklin, "he that framed our constitution must have understood it. If he had imagined that all our privileges depended on the proprietary government, will any one suppose that he would himself have meditated the change? that he would have taken such effectual measures, as he thought them, to bring it about speedily, whether he should live or die? Will any one of those who now extol him so highly, charge him at the same time with the baseness of endeavouring thus to defraud his people of all the liberties and privileges he had pro-

anised them, and by the most solemn charters and grants assured to them, when he engaged them to assist him in the settlement of his province? Surely none can be so inconsistent. And yet this proprietary right of governing, or appointing a governor, has all of a sudden changed its nature, and the preservation of it become of so much importance to the welfare of the province, that the Assembly's only petitioning to have their venerable founder's will executed, and the contract he entered into for the good of his people completed, is styled an 'attempt to violate the constitution, for which our fathers planted a wilderness—to barter away our glorious plan of public liberty and charter privileges; a risking of the whole constitution; an offering up our whole charter rights; a wanton sporting with things sacred, &c.' ”

These considerations were amplified, and additional ones brought forward, in a pamphlet published about that time by our author, entitled “Cool Thoughts;” but the whole of these efforts were abortive, as the home government took no public notice of the petition.

In the decline of 1764, Franklin, with many others who were averse to the domination of the proprietary, lost his election to a seat in the Assembly, after having filled it for fourteen years. But the house well knew his value, and the proprietary intrigues by which he had been rejected. He was again therefore chosen their agent to the court of Great Britain, and although his enemies protested against his appointment, the house refused to admit the protest upon its records. The publication of it in the papers produced from Franklin a pamphlet entitled “Remarks on a late protest, &c.” which thus spiritedly commences:—“I have generally passed over, with a silent disregard, the *nameless* abusive pieces that have been written against me; and though this paper called a *protest* is signed by some respectable names, I was, nevertheless, inclined to treat it with the same indifference; but as the Assembly is therein reflected on

upon my account, it is thought more my duty to make some remarks upon it.

“I would first observe then, that this mode of *protesting* by the minority, with a string of reasons against the proceedings of the majority of the house of Assembly, is quite new among us; the present is the second we have had of the kind, and both within a few months. It is unknown to the practice of the house of Commons, or of any house of representatives in America that I have heard of; and seems an affected imitation of the lords in Parliament, which can by no means become Assembly-men of America. Hence appears the absurdity of the complaint, that the house refused the protest an *entry* on their minutes. The protesters know that they are not, by any custom or usage, entitled to such an entry; and that the practice here is not only useless in itself, but would be highly inconvenient to the house, since it would probably be thought necessary for the majority also to enter their reasons, to justify themselves to their constituents: whereby the minutes would be encumbered, and the public business obstructed. More especially will it be found inconvenient, if such protests are made use of as a new form of libelling, as the vehicles of personal malice, and as means of giving to private abuse the appearance of a sanction as public acts. Your protest, gentlemen, was therefore properly refused; and since it is no part of the proceedings of Assembly, one may with more freedom examine it.”

He thus meets one of their reasons for protesting against his appointment, namely, that he was *unfavourably* thought of by his majesty's ministers:—

“I apprehend, gentlemen, that your informer is mistaken. He indeed has taken great pains to give unfavourable impressions of me, and perhaps may flatter himself, that so much true industry should not be totally without effect. His long success in maiming or murdering all the reputations that stand in his way (which has been the dear delight and constant

employment of his life) may likewise have given him some just ground for confidence, that he has, as they call it, *done for me* among the rest. But, as I said before, I believe he is mistaken. For what have I done, that they should think unfavourably of me? It cannot be my constantly and uniformly promoting the measures of the crown, ever since I had any influence in the province. It cannot, surely, be my promoting the change from a proprietary to a royal government. If indeed I had by speeches and writings endeavoured to make his majesty's government universally odious to the province; if I had declared, written, and printed, that 'the king's little finger we should find heavier than the proprietors' whole loins,' with regard to our liberties; *then indeed* might the ministers be supposed to think unfavourably of me. But these are not exploits for a man who holds a profitable office under the crown, and can expect to hold it no longer than he behaves with the fidelity and duty that become every good subject.

"I am now to take leave (perhaps a last leave) of the country I love, and in which I have spent the greatest part of my life.—*Esto perpetua*.—I wish every kind of prosperity to my friends,—and I forgive my enemies.

"B. FRANKLIN.

"*Philadelphia, Nov. 5, 1764.*"

CHAPTER VIII.

Rise of the differences between the colonies and Great Britain.—Dr Franklin agent for New Jersey, Georgia, and Massachusetts.—He visits Holland, Germany and France.—Progress of the differences between the mother-country and the American colonies.—The Stamp Act riot at Boston.—Dr Franklin examined before the House of Commons.—Stamp Act repealed.—Its principle maintained.—Duties laid on glass, china, &c. in America, resisted.—Franklin publishes “Causes of the American Discontents.”—Mr Speaker’s queries.—Change of ministry.—Negotiations between Dr Franklin and the new ministers.—Letters of governor Hutchinson &c. brought to Franklin, and published in America.—Consequences.—Franklin violently abused before the Privy Council.—Destruction of the tea at Boston.—Boston Port Act.—Congress meets at Philadelphia.—Dr Franklin’s political visits to Mrs Howe.—Proposals of Dr Barclay, Dr Fothergill, and others, to conciliate Great Britain and America.—Franklin’s interviews with lord Howe, and lord Chatham.—Franklin consulted on lord Chatham’s motion in the house of Lords.—His plan of conciliation.—That plan rejected by the house.—Franklin’s opinion of such legislation.—Mr Barclay’s renewed efforts.—Interview with lord Hyde.—Negotiations with the ministry wholly fail.—He prepares to leave London.

It is proper perhaps here to notice, that during the last sitting of the Pennsylvanian assembly, before Dr Franklin left America at this time, intimations had been given from the ministers at home, that they should certainly levy a stamp duty on the colonies in the next session of parliament. The colonial agents then in London were desired to communicate this fact to their constituents in America. The observations then made upon this notice, says Franklin, were, that the principle was entirely new; that the colonies had been ever liberal of their money, when required to advance it in the regular way; and that to tax them in a parliament where they were unrepresented, was both cruel and unjust: and the Assembly came ultimately to this resolution, of which Franklin was the bearer to England, “that as they always had, so they always should think it their duty to grant aid to the

crown, according to their abilities, whenever required of them *in the usual and constitutional manner.*" Other colonies forwarded similar resolutions, with which the British ministers were furnished before the celebrated Stamp Act was brought in.

Dr Franklin, shortly after his arrival in England, received separate commissions of agency for the respective colonies of New Jersey, Georgia, and Massachusetts. Before we follow him into the important consequences of these appointments, let us notice his excursion to the continent of Europe at this period. Hither had his well-earned reputation as an experimental philosopher preceded him; and he was received throughout Holland and Germany, as well as in Paris, with the most distinguished and respectful attention. In Holland, the watermen explained to him the effect which a diminution of the quantity of water in canals has in impeding the progress of boats; which, upon his return to England, led him to make a number of experiments on the subject. These, with an explanation of the phenomenon, he communicated in a letter to his friend sir John Pringle. In Paris he was introduced to a number of literary characters, to the king Louis XV, and to his sisters, Mesdames de France. He was also elected a foreign associate of the Academy of Sciences.

We are now arrived at the most interesting period of the life of FRANKLIN, and of the general history of America. Though an integral part of the empire, British justice must at length admit, that our colonies in this part of the world had been most unremittently and most unwisely depressed, almost from the period of their first settlement. Their trade was restricted in every direction, and in fact prohibited as to foreign countries. Acts that had been enforced from the reign of Charles II expressly included all their valuable exports as forbidden to be shifted "except to some part of his majesty's dominions;" and

no article of European commerce might be imported except from England.

America however carried on an illicit commerce with every part of the globe, and the navigation laws could not be enforced. A radical change therefore, from the former measures to worse, was now contemplated: and Mr George Grenville, who succeeded lord Bute in the administration, avowed, as we have seen, an intention of drawing from the colonies a revenue equal to the alleged expence of their protection and government. This was to be accomplished by enforcing the old navigation laws, and by instituting additional taxes. We must digress from our narrative, to offer a short sketch of the consequences of these attempts.

A squadron was equipped in England, in 1763, to prevent smuggling, and despatched to the American coast in the double capacity of ships of war and revenue cruizers. The seizures that were made were resented by the colonists, who denounced vengeance against the officers, and exceedingly annoyed them in the discharge of their duty, considering these restrictions upon the commerce and property a despotic usurpation of power. So violent were the public commotions in the northern states, that the judges feared popular vengeance in the courts, and could rarely be brought to condemn property and ships seized under any circumstances. On one occasion the people at Rhode Island fired from their batteries upon his majesty's schooner *St John*, for having taken a smuggler in that port.

The next acts that excited the popular ferment, were the imposition of new duties on their commerce, particularly on East India goods, wines, and many other articles; the demanding taxes in specie; and the abolition of paper money as a legal tender. But the last and most odious measure, was the long-announced *STAMP ACT*, which, on 22nd March 1765, received the royal assent. When intelligence reached Boston of this unhappy proceeding, it is impossible to

describe the consternation it produced. The ships in the harbour hoisted their colours half-mast high, in token of the deepest mourning; the bells were muffled, and rang a funeral knell; a reprint of the act was exhibited, in the title of which, instead of the king's arms, appeared a figure of death's head. The act was cried publicly in the street as "the folly of England, and ruin of America," and together with effigies of its authors and supporters was burnt with public ignominy. The press also teemed with the most audacious attacks upon king and parliament; and a newspaper was boldly circulated, in the title of which appeared the significant figure of a snake cut in thirteen pieces, each piece bearing the initial letter of one of the thirteen colonies, accompanied with the motto, "join or die." At Philadelphia and other places the cannon both in the town and barracks were spiked under the very eyes of the military. In Virginia the discussions of the Assembly were of the most alarming nature. One member, Patrick Henry, proclaimed aloud, that "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles I his Oliver Cromwell, and George III———" The assembly of Massachusetts Bay resolved, that it was expedient to hold a general congress, consisting of deputies from all the assemblies in the American continent, to consider the common grievances, and frame petitions to government. Circulars were accordingly sent. In Boston the mob burnt in effigy Mr Oliver, the colonial secretary, who was a distributor of stamps, pulled down his house in defiance of the police, and would have murdered him, had he not eluded their research, and promised to give up the stamps. The lieutenant-governor, chief justice, and sheriff, narrowly escaped with their lives. The populace next destroyed the house of the comptroller of customs, and the registry of the admiralty, burning all the records of that court. The house of the lieutenant-governor was then attacked, the public papers committed to the flames, and his money, plate, and furniture scattered in the street. When the gover-

nor sent written orders for the colonel of the provincial militia to call out his men, the latter refused to obey. At New York, the head-quarters of general Gage, commander-in-chief of the forces in America, the people surrounded the fort, and demanded that the stamps should be given up to them; a requisition which induced that officer to deposit them with the magistrates of the town. So that on the 1st of November, the day appointed for the commencement of the law, there were neither stamps for sale, nor distributors of stamps who dared to offer them, throughout the whole of North America. In this state of things business was suspended, and the courts of justice shut up, for want of legal instruments. The Quakers are said to have recommended that writings should be executed on the bark of trees, in order to evade the law: that being neither paper nor parchment!

Such confusion could not possibly be of long duration. The congress of delegates from nine colonies met at New York on 7th of October, and framed petitions to the king and parliament, containing a declaration of their rights and grievances. This assembly was the origin of that celebrated body of the same name, which combined the system of opposition to Great Britain, and effected the revolution. They agreed to import no more British commodities, and to discontinue the use of them; to encourage their own manufactures; and to suspend commercial transactions with the parent-country, until their grievances were redressed.

In England petitions came pouring in from the merchants, who were distressed by want of trade the effect of the late regulations in America; and by the refusal of the Americans to pay British debts, till they were removed. Parliament was greatly divided in opinion. Some of the members rejoiced that the Americans had resisted Mr Grenville; and his colleagues were dismissed from the ministry, the Marquis Rockingham and his friends succeeding. The new

ministry now therefore contained among them members who originally opposed the bill, and the desire of dropping it began generally to prevail.

In February 1766, Dr Franklin, who was still in London, was examined before the house of Commons, as a means of obtaining information on the subject; and to the strength and freedom of his observations the repeal of the obnoxious act was attributed. The Parliament however insisted on its right to tax the colonies, severely censuring the late excesses; and with the repeal of the Stamp Act his majesty graciously recommended the Assemblies to renumerate those of his injured subjects, whose property had fallen a sacrifice. Yet harmony now seemed not very remote, and very few duties existed in the colonies.

In July a further change took place in the ministry; and Mr Pitt, become earl of Chatham, and in declining health, was again called into power. An unfortunate act of Mr Grenville's however still remained in force, a sort of rider upon the Stamp Act, passed with a view of enforcing that measure. It first empowered military officers to quarter their soldiers in private houses; or enjoined, as a modification, the Assemblies to find them quarters, bedding, beer, rum, &c., which they entirely refused to do. This resistance of its authority the Parliament of Great Britain resolved to chastise; and as New York had been most opposed to the measure, an act suspending the legislature of that province was now carried by the minister. This again threw the colonies into commotion; and they now began to contemplate a final rupture with Britain. Yet some members of the cabinet still entertained the project of taxing the colonies; and Mr C. Townsend, during the indisposition of Mr Pitt, introduced a bill to lay duties on glass, china, painters' colours, tea, paper, &c., and established a resident board of commissioners to collect the revenue, and to prevent contraband trade. Power was given to the custom officers to break into dwelling-houses; and sir Samuel

Hood sent to relieve lord Colville in command of the squadron for the detection of smugglers, &c.

This tax was also at once resisted in America; and the inhabitants of Boston, at a public meeting, drew up resolutions, after the example of New York, for discontinuing the use of British manufactures, and encouraging their own. These resolutions of the town of Boston arrived in London in 1768, and created considerable excitement. Dr Franklin endeavoured to palliate them by addresses in the public papers; and, as the disturbances of the colonies were greatly misunderstood, he inserted a letter in the Chronicle of January 7th, entitled "The Causes of the American Discontents before 1768," with the motto—"The waves never rise but where the winds blow." He here wisely avoids arguing the abstract question of the right of the mother-country to tax the colonies; states himself to be merely an impartial historian of American facts and opinions; and dwells altogether on the inexpediency of the late measures. He affects not to be able to estimate the weight due to America; yet contrives to enforce it with great ability by the following significant enumeration of the evils generally endured by thriving colonies, until goaded into self-deliverance:—"They reflected," he observes, "how lightly the interests of all America had been estimated here; that the whole American people was forbidden the advantage of a direct importation of wine, oils and fruit, from Portugal; but must take them loaded with all the expense of a voyage one thousand leagues round about, being to be landed first in England, to be re-shipped to America; expenses amounting, in war time, at least to thirty pounds per cent. more than otherwise they would have been charged with; and all this merely that a few Portugal merchants in London may gain a commission on those goods passing through their hands. That on a slight complaint of a few Virginia merchants, nine colonies had been restrained from making paper

money, become absolutely necessary to their internal commerce, from their constant remittance of their gold and silver to Britain. But not only the interest of a particular body of *merchants*, but the interest of any small body of British *tradesmen* or *artificers*, has been found, they say, to outweigh that of all the king's subjects in the colonies. There cannot be a stronger natural right than that of a man's making the best profit he can of the natural produce of his lands, provided he does not thereby hurt the state in general. Iron is to be found everywhere in America, and beavers are the natural produce of that country; hats, and nails, and steel, are wanted here. It is of no importance to the common welfare of the empire, whether a subject of the king gets his living by making hats on this or on that side of the water. Yet the *hatters* of England have prevailed to obtain an act in their own favour, restraining that manufacture in America, in order to oblige the Americans to send their beaver to England to be manufactured, and purchase back the hats, loaded with the charges of a double transportation. In the same manner have a few nail-makers, and a still smaller body of steel makers (perhaps there are not half a dozen of these in England) prevailed totally to forbid, by an act of parliament, the erecting of *slitting-mills*, or steel furnaces, in America; that the Americans may be obliged to take all their nails for their buildings, and steel for their tools, from these artificers, under the same disadvantages.

"I say, reflecting on these things, they said one to another (their newspapers are full of such discourses) 'These people are not content with making a monopoly of us (forbidding us to trade with any other country of Europe, and compelling us to buy every thing of them, though in many articles we would furnish ourselves ten, twenty, and even to fifty, per cent. cheaper elsewhere) but now they have as good as declared they have a right to tax us *ad libitum*, internally and externally; and that our constitutions

and liberties shall all be taken away, if we do not submit to that claim.

“They are not content with the high prices at which they sell us their goods, but have now begun to enhance those prices by new duties, and, by the expensive apparatus of a new set of officers, appear to intend an augmentation and multiplication of those burdens, that shall still be more grievous to us. Our people have been foolishly fond of their superfluous modes and manufactures, to the impoverishing of our own country, carrying off all our cash, and loading us with debt; they will not suffer us to restrain the luxury of our inhabitants, as they do that of their own country, by laws: they can make laws to discourage or prohibit the importation of French superfluities: but though those of England are as ruinous to us as the French ones are to them, if we make a law of that kind, they immediately repeal it. Thus they get all our money from us by trade; and every profit we can anywhere make by our fisheries, our produce or our commerce, centres finally with them;—but this does not satisfy. It is time then to take care of ourselves by the best means in our power. Let us unite in solemn resolution and engagements with and to each other, that we will give these new officers as little trouble as possible, by not consuming the British manufactures on which they are to levy the duties. Let us live frugally, and let us industriously manufacture what we can for ourselves: thus we shall be able honourably to discharge the debts we already owe them; and after that, we may be able to keep some money in our country, not only for the uses of our internal commerce, but for the service of our gracious sovereign, whenever he shall have occasion for it, and think proper to require it of us in the old constitutional manner. For, notwithstanding the reproaches thrown out against us in their public papers and pamphlets, notwithstanding we have been reviled in their senate, as rebels and traitors, we are truly a loyal people. Scotland has had its rebellions, and

England its plots against the present royal family; but *America is untainted with those crimes*; there is in it scarce a man, there is not a single native of our country, who is not firmly attached to his king by principle and by affection. But a new kind of loyalty seems to be required of us, a loyalty to parliament; a loyalty, that is to extend, it is said, to a surrender of all our properties whenever a House of Commons, in which there is not a single member of our choosing, shall think fit to grant them away without our consent, and to a patient suffering the loss of our privileges as Englishmen, if we cannot submit to make such surrender. We were separated too far from Britain by the ocean, but we were united to it by respect and love; so that we could at any time freely have spent our lives and little fortunes in its cause: but this unhappy new system of politics tends to dissolve those bands of union, and to sever us for ever.*

"These are the wild ravings of the, at present, half-distracted Americans. To be sure, no reasonable man in England can approve of such sentiments, and, as I said before, I do not pretend to support or justify them; but I sincerely wish, for the sake of the manufactures and commerce of Great Britain, and for the sake of strength, which a firm union with our growing colonies would give us, that these people had never been thus needlessly driven out of their senses.

"I am yours, &c.

"F. S.*"

Mr Strahan, the king's printer, and Dr Franklin had been intimate for many years, a circumstance which induced the former to endeavour to ascertain from Franklin the best method of bringing these disputes to an amicable conclusion. He therefore sent him a series of queries, to which Dr Franklin very promptly and candidly replied. The importance of this document in regard to the whole of the matters

* Meaning it is supposed, "Franklin's seal," as it is well known the pamphlet was written by him.

in dispute, in addition to its characteristic exposition of the information and sagacity of Dr Franklin, entitles it to an admission in the Appendix*.

The earl of Hillsborough was appointed an additional secretary of state in 1769, entirely with a view to colonial affairs; one of the first acts of whose administration was to write to all the colonies, expressing his majesty's displeasure at the general congress, as an unlawful combination. But these circulars produced nothing but insolent replies: governor Bernard insisted upon the assembly at Boston rescinding their act respecting this circular, or he should dissolve the house, and send their transactions for the inspection of the British parliament.

The new secretary and Franklin had frequently had conferences upon American affairs, and it was even rumoured at this time, that the latter would be offered the under-secretaryship of state, but such a design, if even entertained, was never carried into effect, and the only issue of these conferences was to produce some conciliatory instructions from that minister to the governors of the colonies. It is supposed that about this time Dr Franklin delivered to the new minister his celebrated and often-quoted "Rules for reducing a great empire to a small one."

On the whole there seems to have been much insincerity in his lordship. Under his auspices commissioners were sent out to enforce the new taxes, and general Gage, who was strengthened with two regiments from Ireland, was directed to quarter one of them in Boston, to assist the levying of these imposts. Franklin's knowledge of the colonies, and experience of their general dispositions, convinced him of the utter folly and inexpediency of these measures. He particularly deprecated the sending troops at this time to Boston, which he foresaw would be to precipitate the explosion that so soon followed.

In 1772 lord Hillsborough was dismissed. Affairs had finally proceeded so unpropitiously between him

*See Appendix, No. 3.

† See Appendix, No. 4.

and Franklin, that once or twice privately, and finally, at a levée day, his porter was instructed to refuse him to Dr Franklin's coachman, when numerous carriages were at the door. The Doctor however was asked, on his removal from office, by a party high in court favour, whether he could recommend a successor that would be more acceptable to the Americans, on which he nominated lord Dartmouth, who was a great favourite in the colonies, and it is singular, but he was soon after appointed.

Hopes were at this period entertained in both countries, of an adjustment of the differences between the colonies and Great Britain; and Dr Franklin had some thoughts of returning to America in 1773, to aid in this good work; but an affair of a most singular description suddenly involved him personally with the government, and exasperated the public mind, in Massachusetts in particular, to the utmost degree. This province considered itself more deeply aggrieved by the stationing of a permanent military force there, with the avowed design of enforcing submission. As early as March 1770, a quarrel had taken place between the towns-people, and the soldiers, in which several of the former were killed. This event was commemorated for two or three years with great solemnity, when the ablest popular leaders harangued them on the horrors of slavery and arbitrary power. In the course of this period the judges of the province, to preserve them in the interest of the mother-country, were made independent of the people, and paid entirely by the crown. This the assembly, who had hitherto voted them an annual income, resented as a kind of bribery, and in 1773 impeached chief-justice Oliver as receiving corrupt and illegal fees. Governor Bernard could find no mode of defeating this measure, but the dissolving the assembly.

In this province the popular leaders had not the discretion and good-humour of Franklin, but personal animosities exasperated the public discontents,

and the lieutenant-governor, judge Oliver, and others, wrote to the secretary of state at home, pressing the necessity of coercion, and giving distorted pictures of public affairs. The letters of these parties were brought to Dr Franklin, to convince him, as he says, that while he was blaming the ministry at home, their measures in fact were instigated and called for by a strong party in the colonies. It is proper to notice here, that Dr Franklin has been accused of obtaining those letters surreptitiously, through his office of postmaster-general for America. No proof however of any unfair mode of obtaining them was ever exhibited at the time. He only, as he states, had the originals deposited with him, under the seal of secrecy as to the channel through which they were obtained, and which therefore he never would disclose. As the agent for Massachusetts Bay, he applied for leave to transmit those letters to his constituents, which was given to him, as he states, on the condition that they should not be printed or copied, that they should only be shewn to a few of the principal persons at Boston, and that they should be carefully sent back. Upon these conditions he transmitted them to America. Of these famous letters nothing more is now known, than that they were addressed to Mr Thomas Whately, secretary to the treasury. No copies of them have appeared among the writings or papers of Franklin, but from the indignant strain in which he speaks of them, as the production of "time-servers" seeking their own private emolument through any quantity of public mischief; betrayers of the interests, not of their native country only, but of the government they pretended to serve, &c., they were no doubt highly insidious and inflammatory.

At Boston the public anger and animosity excited by them was almost without bounds. The assembly drew up a petition and demonstration to his majesty, in which they prayed for justice against the governor and lieutenant-governor, as betrayers of the public

trust and of the people they governed, and as sending home private, partial, and false information concerning them*.

A day being fixed for hearing this petition and remonstrance before the privy council, Dr Franklin attended at that board, as the agent of Massachusetts Bay, and Mr Wedderburne then attorney-general, as counsel for the governor and lieutenant-governor. Finding the business thus warmly espoused by his majesty's government, Dr Franklin applied for counsel and for time. Three weeks were allowed him, and the business was finally and fully argued on the 29th of January, 1774, when Mr Dunning (afterwards lord Ashburton) and Mr J. Lee appeared with him as counsel on behalf of the Massachusetts Assembly. The speeches of the accusing counsel were never reported, but the extracts which Mr Dunning read from these famous letters, will sufficiently substantiate Dr Franklin's character of them. Oliver suggested to the minister "to stipulate with the merchants of England, and purchase from them large quantities of goods proper for the American market; agreeing beforehand to allow them a premium equal to the advance of their stock, if the price of their goods were not enhanced by a twofold demand in future, even though the goods might lie on hand till this temporary stagnation of business ceased. By such a step," said he, "*the game will be up with my countrymen.*" On another occasion he says, "that some method should be devised to *take off* the original incendiaries, whose writings supplied the fuel of sedition through the *Boston Gazette.*" Mr Hutchinson declared *there must be an abridgment of English liberties* in the colonies, or the government could not proceed.

Mr Wedderburne directed the whole force of his reply, not to the contents of the letters, but to the

* The mystery in which the mode of Franklin's obtaining these letters is involved, produced a duel at the time, between Mr William Whately, brother of the party to whom they were addressed, and Mr John Temple, of Boston, New England, who was suspected of being instrumental in procuring them.

manner of their having been obtained by Dr Franklin, which he contended could not have been "by fair means." "The writers did not give them to him," said he, "nor yet did the deceased correspondent, who, from our intimacy, would otherwise have told me of it; nothing then will acquit Dr Franklin of the charge of obtaining them by fraudulent or corrupt means, for the most malignant of purposes, unless he stole them from the person who stole them. This argument is irrefragable."

"I hope, my lords," he continued, "you will mark and brand the man, for the honour of this country, of Europe, and of mankind. Private correspondence has hitherto been held sacred in times of the greatest party rage, not only in politics, but in religion." "He has forfeited all the respect of societies and of men. Into what companies will he hereafter go with an unembarrassed face, or the honest intrepidity of virtue? Men will watch him with a jealous eye, they will hide their papers from him, and lock up their escrutoires. He will henceforth esteem it a libel to be called a man of letters, *homo Trium literarum*!"

"But he not only took away the letters from one brother, but kept himself concealed till he nearly occasioned the murder of the other. It is impossible to read his account, expressive of the coolest and most deliberate malice, without horror. (Here he read a letter of Dr Franklin to the *Public Advertiser*.) Amidst those tragical events, of one person nearly murdered; of another answerable for the issue; of a worthy governor hurt in his dearest interests; the fate of America is in suspense: here is a man, who, with the utmost insensibility of remorse, stands up and avows himself the author of all.—I can compare it only to Zanga in Dr Young's *Revenge*.

'Know then 'twas—I—
I forged the letter,—I disposed the picture;—
I hated,—I despised,—and I destroy.'

"I ask, my lords, whether the revengeful temper, attributed by poetic fiction only to the bloody Afri-

can, is not surpassed by the coolness and apathy of the wily American."

Franklin is said to have stood during the time of the delivery of this long speech at the council-table, immovably erect, and with not a feature disturbed by the attack. The council, February 7th, voted the petition of the Massachusetts Assembly "groundless, vexatious, and scandalous," and Dr Franklin within a few days was dismissed from his office of postmaster-general.

The next morning Franklin told Dr Priestley he had never before been so sensible of the power of a good conscience; for that if he had not considered the thing for which he had been so much insulted as one of the best actions of his life, and what he should certainly do again in the same circumstances, he could not have supported it.

It is remarkable however that Dr Franklin retained to a very late period a lively recollection of this insult. He wore on this occasion a full dress suit of spotted Manchester velvet, and it is observed by Dr Bancroft, that he had on the same dress when he signed the treaties of commerce and alliance with France; which led him to suspect, that he was influenced in that transaction by the remembrance of his former treatment before the council.

While this unhappy affair was exasperating the quarrel in England, an event of a different kind at Boston, was bringing on actual hostilities. Lord North, to avoid directly taxing the colonies, and at the same time to relieve the East India Company of a heavy stock of tea which had accumulated in their warehouses, had carried a bill through parliament, allowing the company to export it duty free; or more correctly the directors were to satisfy the treasury for the duties on tea sold in America, and to indemnify themselves by charging an extra threepence per pound for it. Three vessels laden with tea arrived under these circumstances at Boston. It was immediately voted at an immense assembly of the inhabit-

ants, that the tea should not be landed. The vessels were ordered to haul up to Griffin's wharf, and after a few days, a strong party disguised as Mohawk Indians, headed by John Hancock, Samuel Adams, and some other respectable inhabitants, deliberately boarded them, started the tea chests from the holds, to the number of three hundred and forty-two, and poured their contents into the sea.

Intelligence of these outrages reached England early in 1774, and was submitted to both houses of parliament, by a message from the king. Ministers contended that the town of Boston had proceeded to actual rebellion, and moved for leave to bring in bills, depriving it of the privilege of being a port; appointing that the council of Massachusetts should in future be nominated by the crown; that the power of the governor should be enlarged; and that he should have the option of sending state and other criminals to England for trial.

To enforce these measures of the ministry, another increase of military force was despatched to general Gage at Boston, and partly for the purpose of modifying their apparent severity, a bill was also passed in this session, putting Canada on the same footing, by establishing at Quebec a legislative council under the crown. But the arrival of the Boston Port bill in America was productive of very different consequences to those anticipated by the minister. Meetings of the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood were called, and sat from day to day. Copies of the obnoxious bill were circulated throughout the neighbouring continent, and the public mind seemed to be given up to consternation and rage. Far from suffering it to be carried into effect, the most violent retaliatory measures were projected, and the neighbouring states were called upon to make common cause with their oppressed brethren. The governor of Boston having received a list of thirty-six new counsellors appointed by the crown in pursuance of the late act, twenty-four of them only accepted the office,

and most of these renounced the office in consequence of the threats of the populace. Some of general Gage's regiments having encamped on the plains in the neighbourhood of Boston, and placed a guard upon the neck of the peninsula, the inhabitants of Worcester county affected to suppose that this was intended to starve the town into a compliance with the British measures, and sent to inform the inhabitants that there were ten thousand men ready to march to their assistance. General Gage now fortified Boston Neck, and seized upon the ammunition and stores prior to the approaching annual muster of the provincial militia.

Franklin's life and conduct as a statesman is essentially connected with these events, but the general dignity and influence of his character were happily preserved by his present detention in England, whence his genius could direct the storm, without his being disturbed too much by it personally. The first meeting of a General Congress was in fact a suggestion of his, not only in his original plan of a union of the colonies, suggested at Albany, but more particularly in a letter addressed from England, in July, 1773, to his friend Thomas Cushing, Esq.

"As the strength of an empire," says he in this masterly paper, "depends not only on the union of its parts, but on their readiness for united exertion of their common force; and as the discussion of rights may seem unseasonable in the commencement of actual war, and the delay it might occasion be prejudicial to the common welfare; as, likewise, the refusal of one or a few colonies would not be so much regarded, if the others granted liberally, which, perhaps, by various artifices and motives they might be prevailed on to do; and as this want of concert would defeat the expectation of general redress that otherwise might be justly formed; perhaps it would be best and fairest for the colonies, in a General Congress, now in peace to be assembled (or by means of the correspondence lately proposed), after a full

and solemn assertion and declaration of their rights, to engage firmly with each other, that they will never grant aids to the crown in any general war, till those rights are recognised by the king and both houses of parliament; communicating to the crown this their resolution. Such a step, I imagine, will bring the dispute to a crisis; and whether our demands are immediately complied with, or compulsory measures thought of to make us rescind them, our ends will finally be obtained; for even the odium accompanying such compulsory attempts will contribute to unite and strengthen us; and, in the meantime, all the world will allow that our proceeding has been honourable."

This Congress met at Philadelphia, Sept. 17th, 1774. The first act of Congress declared their determined resolution to oppose the measures of the British parliament relative to Massachusetts Bay; after which they wrote to general Gage, commander of the king's troops in that province, declaring their resolution to unite for the preservation of their common rights, in opposition to the oppressions of parliament, and lamenting that his Excellency should have proceeded in a manner that bore so hostile an appearance, calculated to force them into open warfare with the parent state.

They professed a desire for peace, and a full knowledge of the horrors to which all the peaceable inhabitants of the colonies would be exposed by the termination of those disputes in civil war.

They also published a Declaration of Rights derived to them as English colonists, from the laws of nature, the principles of the British constitution, and the respective provincial charters.

And drew up a Petition to the King, a Memorial to their Fellow Subjects of Great Britain, an Address to the Colonies in general, and another to the Inhabitants of the New Quebec Province.

The energy, ability, and wisdom of these public papers were such, that lord Chatham, no ordinary judge, told Dr Franklin before he left England, that

he had never met with any thing superior to them in all history.

At this tremendous crisis, in the public prints, in letters to statesmen, and in private conversation, Dr Franklin was unceasing in his efforts to induce government to change its measures. He expatiated on the impolicy and injustice of the conduct at present pursued, and stated in the most explicit manner, that notwithstanding the sincere attachment of the colonies to Great Britain, a continuance of the present measures must alienate their affections at last. In the autumn of 1774, lord Stanhope introduced him to Mr Pitt, who received him with great cordiality, and requested the favour of his frequent calls. He inquired particularly into the affairs of America, and spoke feelingly against the severity of the Massachusetts' laws. Franklin observed, that but for those divisions, the States might have gone on adding province to province, as far as the South Sea. That he lamented the ruin impending over so desirable a plan, and hoped, if his lordship and other great men of the nation would unite and exert themselves, the cause of America might yet be rescued out of the hands of the present blundering ministers, and so desirable an end obtained.—He replied, that our author's idea of extending the empire was a sound one, worthy of a great, benevolent, and comprehensive mind. He mentioned an opinion generally entertained of America's aiming at independence, to which Franklin replied, by assuring him that he had never heard the least expression of a wish for separation in all America.

About the same time, Dr Franklin was told at the Royal Society, that a certain lady, who proved to be a sister of lord Howe's, desired his acquaintance, as a well known player at chess, and Mr Rapier, his informant was, if agreeable, to introduce him. Dr Franklin readily consented, not conjecturing, he says, at the time, that any political business was to be connected with his visits; but one evening, after playing a game at chess, lady Howe said, 'And what is to be done with this

dispute between Great Britain and the colonies, I hope we are not to have a civil war?' 'They should kiss and be friends,' said Franklin, 'What can they do better?' 'I have often said,' replied she, 'that I wished government would employ *you* to settle the dispute for them. I am sure nobody could do it so well; don't you think the thing is practicable?' 'Undoubtedly, madam,' rejoined Franklin, 'if the parties are both disposed to reconciliation; for the two countries have really no clashing interests to differ about. It is rather a matter of *punctilio*, which two or three reasonable people might settle in half an hour; but the ministers will never think of employing me in that good work, they choose rather to abuse me.' 'Ay,' said she, 'they have behaved shamefully to you, and, indeed, some of them are now ashamed of it themselves.' This is a mere abstract of the conversation, and Franklin thought it, upon the whole, accidental.

About this time Mr David Barclay called on Dr Franklin, to converse with him respecting a meeting of the merchants to petition parliament; after which he entered upon the present dangerous situation of America, the nature of the present measures, and the great merit that person would have, who could effect a reconciliation, and avert the dark storm that seemed impending; to which he added his full persuasion, that for this object no man had so much in his power as Franklin. The latter replied, he saw no prospect of it. Accommodation was always impracticable, except both sides were ready to agree upon equitable terms, which he believed was not the case. He considered the object of the present ministry was, to drive the Americans into open rebellion, that they might have a plausible pretext for putting the States under a military execution, and gratify an old prejudice which still rankled in the breasts of many gentlemen in the British parliament against the whigs and dissenters, who had taken refuge in those colonies. In reply, Mr Barclay wished the Doctor to think

more favourably of ministers ; he thought they would be happy to escape from their present embarrassment on any terms which would preserve the honour of the government.

Dr Franklin spent an evening, shortly after, with his old friend Dr Fothergill, and Mr Barclay. The conversation turned chiefly on American affairs, and the many calamities likely to be connected with the late differences. They both urged Dr Franklin to exert himself in order to bring affairs to a reconciliation, and hoped he would sketch out some plan which might be shewn to ministers, duly regarding the claims of both nations. Dr Franklin expressed his willingness to listen to any friendly intimation ; a further meeting was appointed, when he produced *Hints for Conversation upon the subject of Terms* that might probably produce a durable union between Britain and the Colonies.

1. " The tea destroyed to be paid for.
2. " The tea-duty act to be repealed, and all the duties that have been received upon it to be repaid into the treasuries of the several provinces from which they have been collected.
3. " The acts of navigation to be all re-enacted in the colonies.
4. " A naval officer appointed by the crown, to reside in each colony, to see that these acts are observed.
5. " All the acts restraining manufactures in the colonies to be repealed.
6. " All duties arising on the acts for regulating trade with the colonies, to be for the public use of the respective colonies, and paid into their treasuries. The collectors and custom-house officers to be appointed by each governor, and not sent from England.
7. " In consideration of the Americans maintaining their own peace-establishment, and the monopoly

Britain is to have of their commerce, no requisition is to be made from them in time of peace.

8. "No troops to enter and quarter in any colony, but with the consent of its legislature.

9. "In time of war, on requisition made by the king, with the consent of parliament, every colony shall raise money by the following rules or proportions, viz. : If Britain, on account of the war, raise three shillings in the pound to its land-tax, then the colonies to add to their last general provincial peace tax, a sum equal to one-fourth thereof; and if Britain, on the same account, pay four shillings in the pound, then the colonies to add to their last peace-tax a sum equal to half thereof, which additional tax is to be granted to his majesty, and to be employed in raising and paying men for land or sea service, furnishing provisions, transports, or for such other purposes as the king shall require and direct. And though no colony may contribute less, each may add as much by voluntary grant as they may think proper.

10. "Castle William to be restored to the province of Massachusetts Bay, and no fortress built by the crown in any province, but with the consent of its legislature.

11. "The late Massachusetts and Quebec acts to be repealed, and a free government granted to Canada.

12. "All judges to be appointed during good behaviour, with equally permanent salaries, to be paid out of the province revenues, by appointment of the assemblies. Or, if the judges are to be appointed during the pleasure of the crown, let the salaries be during the pleasure of the assemblies, as heretofore.

13. "Governors to be supported by the assemblies of each province."

14. "If Britain will give up its monopoly of the American commerce, then the aid above-mentioned to be given by America in time of peace as well as in time of war.

15. "The extensions of the act of Henry VIII. concerning treasons to the colonies, to be formally disowned by parliament.

16. "The American admiralty-courts reduced to the same powers they have in England, and the acts establishing them to be re-enacted in America.

17. "All powers of internal legislation in the colonies, to be disclaimed by parliament*."

Soon after these conferences, the proceedings of Congress arrived, including the petition to the king, enclosed to Franklin, with a letter addressed to the several American agents then in London. These proceedings were favourably received in England. His majesty approved the petition, and graciously promised to take a very early opportunity of laying it before his two houses of parliament.

Lord Hyde, an intimate connexion of the ministers, to whom Franklin's hints had been shewn, thought them too hard, but wished they might be successful. In December (1774) the hon. Mrs Howe, requested the favour to introduce lord Howe, her brother, to Dr Franklin, the former having expressed a great wish to become acquainted with him; to which Franklin making no objection, Mrs H. sent for his lordship. He soon entered upon the state of things in America, and solicited Franklin to think of some terms of accommodation; he was sorry for the conduct of the ministry towards him, and said they were ashamed of it; but that he hoped no personal prejudice would prevent him, in so great a work, from using every effort to accomplish the end. In reply Dr Franklin stated his great willingness to concur in any proposal likely to facilitate an understanding between America and the parent kingdom; but he apprehended, from the speech recently delivered from the throne, and from the measures in contemplation, that ministers were

* These papers, amongst the earliest productions of Congress, will be found in our Appendix, No. 7.

averse from union, and therefore that an accommodation was impossible. With regard to personal injuries, the injuries of his country were much greater; "he never mixed private and public affairs, and could join with his personal enemy in serving the public, or with the public in serving his enemy." His lordship, notwithstanding, requested the Doctor to draw up in writing some such proposals as he thought might become the basis of an accommodation, which he did accordingly, although he thought them sufficiently expressed already in the petition of Congress to the king. The plan however was such as gave little hope of success.

Dr Fothergill had also related the substance of the former paper to lord Dartmouth, and likewise to the speaker of the house, the latter of whom observed, it would be very humiliating to Great Britain to submit to such terms, although he was himself very anxious for a reconciliation. The reply was, that England had been oppressive and unjust, and therefore submission was a duty; that the pill, though bitter, was salutary, and must be swallowed.

Dr Franklin, according to promise, had enclosed the proceedings of the Congress to lord Chatham, and shortly after waited upon him with the petition. He expressed a great regard for America. The petition, he said, reflected honour upon the Assembly, and was replete with temper, wisdom, and moderation. He rather questioned their opinion upon the illegality of keeping up a standing army in time of peace, but upon the whole, he hoped that government here would soon come to see its mistakes, and rectify them. His lordship suggested the possibility of his preparing something on that subject for the consideration of parliament, at the opening of the session, on which he should previously solicit Dr Franklin's opinion. The latter suggested above all other things the withdrawal of the army, as the Americans could not propose or accede honourably to any terms of accommodation, while the bayonet was at their breasts.

Having recently heard from governor Pownall, that the late measures did not originate with lord North, and were never approved by that minister, Dr Franklin once more began to entertain serious hopes of an accommodation, and went to Halsted, on his way to visit lord Stanhope, at Chevening; but hearing that his lordship was from home, he went to Chislehurst to see lord Camden, with whom he spent an evening, conversing much on American affairs, and had the pleasure of hearing his lordship express his full approbation of the proceedings of Congress and the petition, and hoped they would continue the same prudent conduct, and he felt a confidence that they would finally succeed.

The 20th of January was the time lord Chatham fixed for introducing his motion into the house, and requested lord Stanhope to send Dr Franklin a note to that effect, greatly desiring his attendance on the occasion. In addition however to this invitation, lord Chatham himself sent another card on the morning of the day on which he intended to speak, requesting Dr Franklin to attend in the lobby at two o'clock, and he would himself introduce him, which he accordingly did. His motion was, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, beseeching him to remove his troops from Boston, as a preliminary step towards an accommodation with America. "I was quite charmed," says Dr Franklin, "with lord Chatham's speech. He impressed me with the highest idea of him as a great and most able statesman." Lord Camden and other noble lords delivered excellent speeches in support of the motion, but it was rejected. Lord Chatham's concluding words were, "If the ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the king, I will not say that they can alienate the affections of his subjects from the crown, but I will affirm that they will make the crown not worth his wearing. I will not say that the king is betrayed, but I will pronounce the kingdom is undone." He also observed in the course of this debate, that it had been

charged upon the opposition by noble lords, that it was common and easy to censure their measures, but that the censurers proposed nothing better. He observed that he should not be one of those idle censurers, but shortly produce to the house a plan which he had digested for healing the present unhappy differences, and restoring peace to the empire.

Dr Franklin had a great wish to know what this plan was, and being invited shortly after to his lordship's house, was favoured with the outlines of it in the course of conversation. His lordship afterwards came to town, and left it with Dr Franklin for his perusal and opinion, complimented him as the standard of American intelligence, and said, that although he had considered the business in all its bearings, he came "to set his judgment right by Franklin's, as men set their watches by a regulator." This visit of his lordship's lasted nearly two hours, his equipage waiting at the door all that time; a circumstance which was soon known to the public, and contributed to increase our author's importance in the general esteem. His lordship proposed bringing his plan before the House of Lords on the following Wednesday, and Dr Franklin was to call upon him at Hayes, in the interim, for the purpose of further conversation upon it. He accordingly made his observations, and waited upon his lordship early on Tuesday, but found him so diffuse and eloquent in support of his own propositions, that although they remained together four hours, the notes of our author were not half gone through; and he only obtained by his visit the pleasure of hearing the eloquent observations of that great man on topics the most interesting to him.

Dr Franklin went down to the House of Lords on Wednesday in company with lord Stanhope. Lord Chatham introduced his plan, and the secretary for the colonies observed upon the weighty question it involved, that he supposed the noble earl could only expect that it should lie on their lordships' table for consideration

Lord Sandwich rose, and decidedly opposed ~~his~~ being received at all. He thought it ought to be immediately rejected with the contempt it deserved. That instead of being the plan of a British peer, it appeared to him the production of an American; and turning towards Franklin, said, he thought he saw the person in question, the bitterest and most dangerous foe this country had ever known. A remark which drew the eyes of the house on Dr Franklin, but he kept his countenance "as if his features had been made of wood." At length lord Chatham rose to reply; he took notice of the illiberal insinuation of lord Sandwich, and affirmed that the plan was his own; after which he added, that "were he the first minister of this country, and had the care of settling this momentous business, he should not be ashamed of publicly calling to his assistance a person so perfectly acquainted with the whole of American affairs as the gentlemen alluded to, and so injuriously reflected on; one whom all Europe had held in high estimation for his knowledge and wisdom, and ranked with our Boyles and Newtons; who was an honour, not to the English nation only, but to human nature."

The hasty and ignorant rejection of this bill confirmed Dr Franklin's opinion of what might be expected from hereditary legislators. To observe, he says, their total want of information upon the very nature of the bill, and of American politics generally; the prejudice, passion, and indecency with which they treated so important a measure, and the personal virulence with which they attacked himself, although he attended in the capacity of a private gentleman, professing to have no part in the discussions; but above all to hear them so violently oppose even the consideration of such a proposal, at such a crisis, offered by the first statesman of the age, who had already raised his country from the verge of ruin, and conducted it to victory and glory, through a destructive war with two of the mightiest powers of Europe; to hear them censuring his plan, not only from their mis-

understanding of what it was, but their imagination of what it was not—convinced him, he adds, that so far from being fit to govern three millions of sensible people in America, they were scarcely fit to direct a herd of swine; and reminded him of a university in Germany, where there are hereditary professors of mathematics; which he thinks of the two preferable to hereditary legislators!

Contrary to all Franklin's expectations after this, Mr Barclay requested a meeting at Dr Fothergill's, when he told him that the hints had been considered, and that a good disposition appeared in the ministry; renewed his representations of the miseries of war, and the honour there would be in effecting an accommodation: he added, that if Dr Franklin could accomplish it, he might expect not only the restoration of his old place, but almost any other that he could desire. The Doctor immediately replied, that the Americans did not wish for war, but for peace; and for his own part, he was quite sure the minister would rather give him a place in a cart to Tyburn, than any other.

These gentlemen then informed Franklin that his proposals had been taken into consideration, and produced a paper containing observations on them: on examining which, the latter found many of them had been agreed to, but observed, that so long as the parliament claimed a right of altering, *ad libitum*, the political constitution of the colonial governments, there could be no security for America, and a reconciliation would be impossible.

They afterwards mentioned the overwhelming force of Great Britain, and how easy it would be for her to equip a fleet which should command the shores of the American continent, and burn down all the principal towns. But Franklin was inflexible; he told them his property consisted in buildings in those towns, and they might burn them if they pleased: he should resist to the utmost that claim of parliament, and it behoved Great Britain to be careful what she did to

America, who would oblige her to make good all damages with interest. Dr Fothergill engaged to report this discourse to lord Dartmouth the next day.

It was in contemplation at this time to send over a commissioner to America, and these gentlemen asked Dr Franklin's opinion as to the proper person for such a trust. He suggested the names of lord Hyde and lord Howe, as men both of prudence and dignity, and these hints, it will be seen, were not overlooked.

At his own house the week following, Mr Barclay exhibited another plan for the inspection of the American delegate, in which he professed to have embodied what had been proposed and conceded on both sides, and which was entitled, "A Plan which it is believed would produce a permanent Union between Great Britain and her Colonies." When the parties afterwards met (February 16th) for the discussion of this plan, the principal discussion turned upon the first article, which was as follows.—"The tea destroyed to be paid for; and in order that no time be lost, to begin the desirable work of conciliation, it is proposed that the agent or agents, in a petition to the king, should engage that the tea destroyed shall be paid for; and in consequence of this engagement, a commissioner to have authority, by a clause in an act of parliament, to open the port, (by a suspension of the Boston Port act) when that engagement shall be complied with."

It was urged that ministers were friendly to the object of these meetings, and wanted only an opening to be given them, that they might proceed in a train of conciliatory measures. That a petition to suspend the Boston Port act, and open the harbour, on condition of payment for the tea, would answer that important end: that on the other hand preparations for sending over some troops and ships were in train, &c.

Franklin being urged to prepare a petition of this kind in conjunction with the other colony agents, observed, that he thought his colleagues would hardly be brought to take such a step, without instructions

from home : but that if good were likely to be done, he should make no scruple in coming forward in it; but that he must stipulate for *all* the acts relating to Massachusetts Bay being immediately repealed. He thought, that sending a commissioner over to suspend the Boston Port act, was a tardy method of proceeding, but that both topics should have his consideration in the course of a few days.

During this interval, he sketched a joint petition to the purport requested, praying in addition to the sending out a commissioner, that his majesty would also permit and authorize a meeting of delegates from the several provinces, to confer with him a recommendation which he proposed to strengthen, by address of his own to lord Dartmouth, and by undertaking, as the Massachusetts Bay agent, to pay for the tea.

But he still insisted that the old constitution of that province should be restored at once ; and observed that it was impossible to act upon a plan of reconciliation, mingling it with "tricks;" that to call upon the Assembly to act under the new constitution, or meet the new council appointed by parliament, would be to accede one of the most important points in dispute ; namely, the power of parliament to annul their charter ; and that to ask them to do so, was like saying, "Try on your fetters, and then if you don't like them, petition, and we will consider."

On the whole, when the friends finally met, Messrs Barclay and Fothergill being of opinion that ministers would not repeal all the Massachusetts acts, Franklin withdrew his papers, and declined making further offers ; saying at the same time, that he saw no occasion for thus dealing through second hands if ministers were sincere, and that he was still ready to meet them, and discuss the points at issue.

Lord Howe, it is rather singular, had through his sister engaged Dr Franklin to meet him the following day. His lordship told him that he had been thought of as the commissioner for settling differences with America, and wished to press upon Dr Franklin the

eligibility of his accompanying him. He was very sensible, he said, that if he should be so happy as to effect any thing valuable, it would be owing wholly to the advice and assistance that Franklin should render: that he had assured ministers from his own personal knowledge of the good disposition of the latter towards peace, and that what he now wished was to be authorized by him, to say that he would accompany him, and co-operate in the great work of reconciliation. Dr Franklin wished first to know what *propositions* were to be the basis of their mission. "If reasonable in themselves," said he, "I may be able to make them appear such to my countrymen;" but if otherwise, he doubted if any man could accomplish this, and he should certainly not undertake it. As to the "generous and ample" rewards, both present and future, of which lord Howe spoke, Franklin says, it was, according to a French phrase, *spitting in the soup*, and he assured his lordship, that if he were to act in this business, the acceptance of any thing of this kind would destroy all his influence. The noble peer finally asked Dr Franklin if he should object to conversing with lord Hyde on this business, to which he added, not in the least, that he had great respect for his lordship, and would wait upon him whenever he pleased.

After some days' delay, it appeared that this minister in fact declined seeing Dr Franklin. On the 20th of February lord North made what was called a specific motion in the House of Commons, which was carried by a large majority. Some of Franklin's ideas are to be found in it, but he thought, from its imperfect composition and general inadequateness to the ends proposed, that it had been suddenly curtailed before it was brought down to the house. The motion was as follows:—

"That it is the opinion of this committee, that when the governor, council, and assembly, or general court of his majesty's provinces or colonies, shall propose to make provision according to their respective con-

ditions, circumstances, and situations, for contributing their proportion to the common defence, such proportion to be raised under the authority of the general court, or general assembly of such province or colony, and disposable by parliament, and shall engage to make provisions also for the support of the civil government, and the administration of justice in such province or colony; it will be proper, if such proposal shall be approved by his majesty in parliament, and for so long as such provisions shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such province or colony, to levy any duties, tax, or assessment, or to impose any further duty, tax, or assessment, except only such duties as it may be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce; the net produce of the duties last mentioned to be carried to the account of such province, colony, or plantation, exclusively."

Having at the conclusion of the month heard nothing directly or indirectly from the ministers, Dr Franklin mentioned his surprise to Mrs Howe, and wished her to request lord Howe to inform him of the reason; or if any alteration had taken place with respect to the projected commission, because in that case he must adopt other measures. Lord Howe, in consequence, requested another meeting, when Franklin mentioned to his lordship, that having, since he last had the pleasure of meeting him, heard of the death of his wife, he must return to Philadelphia; but that in case the measures mentioned by his lordship were likely to be carried into effect, he should be disposed to wait for them a short time, otherwise he should leave England by the next ship. That by not hearing from him, and from the general tenor of lord North's motion, he thought some alteration had occurred. To this lord Howe replied, that Dr Franklin's last paper had discouraged the idea of a reconciliation; but above all things he wished him to see lord Hyde.

This Dr Franklin engaged to do, and accordingly

waited upon his lordship the next morning, and conversed with him at considerable length upon the unhappy differences that had occurred between the two countries. His lordship seemed astonished to find that lord North's motion was not satisfactory, whereupon the Doctor recurred to the old topic, the injustice of levying a tax on a people not represented in parliament; it being under the threat of exercising this affirmed right that the proposed grants were to be given. He could only compare this mode of getting money to that practised by a highwayman, who holds his pistol and hat at a coach window, and if you will give him your money freely, he will do you the honour to omit putting his hand into your pockets. He assured his lordship that the Americans would not grant a shilling on such terms. He also reminded him that another unjustifiable right had been assumed, that of altering the charters of the colonies, which the Americans would never submit to; and even if the first were given up, the breach would be as wide as ever, so long as this remained. His lordship observed, on the other hand, that many of Dr Franklin's propositions would never be agreed to; that although there was an amicable disposition in the administration toward America, better terms would never be obtained than those specified by lord North; that it was generally thought the Doctor had instructions with him to offer more favourable terms. He only hoped that he would do all he could, and co-operate with ministers in bringing about a reconciliation, and, in that case, informed him he would be honoured and rewarded beyond his expectation. After a little conversation upon the projected plan of sending a commissioner to America, they separated.

In the commencement of March, Dr Franklin had the honour of another interview with lord Howe: the latter expressed his sorrow that there was no probability of a reconciliation; he solicited the promise of Dr Franklin's assistance in the event of his being sent to America, and thus the negotiation ended.

both with lord Howe, and also with Messrs Barclay and Fothergill, who were disappointed and displeased with the ministers, and expressed their united opinion that nothing but the perseverance of the Americans could preserve their liberties.

Some base and unprincipled reflections thrown out in the House of Lords by the ministerial side, tended not a little to exasperate Franklin's mind at this time, and to foment those divisions which already assumed a formidable aspect. Members of administration in both houses often spoke opprobriously of American courage, religion, understanding, &c. Others took up the question of American honesty, and called the colonists knaves, who had raised the dispute merely to avoid paying their just debts; and said, that if the Americans had the least sense of honour, they would offer payment for the teas. Dr Franklin, who underwent the operation of hearing this barbarous eloquence from time to time, felt so much irritated by it, as to draw up the following memorial, with a view to present it to lord Dartmouth.

A Memorial of BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Agent of the province of Massachusetts Bay.

"Whereas an injury done can only give the party injured a right to full reparation, or, in case that be refused, a right to return an equal injury; and whereas the blockade of Boston, now continued nine months, hath every week of its continuance done damage to that town, equal to what was suffered there by the India company; it follows that such *exceeding* damage is an *injury* done by this government, for which reparation ought to be made. And whereas reparation of injuries ought always (agreeably to the custom of all nations, savage as well as civilized) to be first required, before satisfaction is taken by a return of damage to the aggressors; which was not done by Great Britain, in the instance abovementioned; I the underwritten do therefore, as their agent, in the behalf of my country and the said town of Boston, protest against

the continuance of the said blockade: and I do hereby solemnly demand satisfaction for the accumulated injury done them beyond the value of the India company's tea destroyed. And whereas the conquest of the gulf of St Lawrence, the coast of Labrador, and Nova Scotia, and the fisheries possessed by the French, there and on the banks of Newfoundland, so as they were more extended than at present, was made by the joint forces of Britain and the colonies, the latter having nearly an equal number of men in that service with the former; it follows that the colonies have an equitable and just right to participate in the advantage of those fisheries. I do therefore, in the behalf of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, protest against the act now under consideration in parliament, for depriving that province with others, of that fishery, (on pretence of their refusing to purchase British commodities) as an act both highly unjust and injurious: and I give notice, that satisfaction will one day be demanded for all the injury that may be done and suffered in the execution of such an act; and that the injustice of the proceeding is likely to give such umbrage to all the colonies, that in no future war, wherein other conquests may be meditated, either a man or a shilling will be obtained from any of them to aid such conquests, till full satisfaction be made as aforesaid.

" BENJAMIN FRANKLIN."

" *Given in London this 16th day of March 1755.*"

A friend, Mr Thomas Walpole, to whose judgment this paper was committed, dissuaded him from presenting it, as having no express instruction to that effect, it might be attended with dangerous consequences to his person.

As far therefore now as American affairs were under Franklin's guidance, they were approaching a crisis. Ministers were treating him with respect and with contempt alternately. He was thought too much of an American to be supposed to have English interests at heart, while the more ardent republican

leaders would have thought him too much of an Englishman in his concessions, to be a true American. On the whole there is no part of the life of this great man, in which he shines with greater lustre than at this period. The whole weight of his public character and well-earned fame, he threw into these efforts for the public peace. The associate of Howe, and the friend and counsellor of Chatham, it is mournful to see him retiring from amongst the constellation of England's great men, to rise in another hemisphere amidst her rivals and her foes. But the ministry acted towards him with as much private meanness, as with public bad faith. While they trifled with Franklin as a public man, he was harassed in the court of Chancery by those whom he had good reason to suppose their agents, (on the subject of Hutchinson's letters,) until disgusted with his situation, he resolved to seek his native shores.

The evening before he left London, he had a pleasing proof however of the honesty of his Quaker friends; Dr Fothergill sent him a note enclosing letters for Philadelphia, in which he spoke out plainly respecting what he saw of ministers, asserting that whatever specious pretences were made, "they are all hollow, and that to get a larger field, in which to fatten a herd of worthless parasites, was all that was regarded." "Perhaps," he adds, "it may be proper to acquaint them (their friends in Philadelphia) with David Barclay's and our united endeavours, and the effects. They will stun at least, if not convince the most worthy, that nothing very favourable is intended, if more unfavourable articles cannot be obtained."

CHAPTER IX.

THE PRUSSIAN EDICT, published by Dr Franklin, and the emblem of Britain's ruin.—Leaves London.—Hostilities already commenced on his arrival.—Engagement at Lexington and Concord.—Congress resolves to petition the king finally.—His letter to Mr Strahan.—Congress prepares to assert the Independence of America.—Appointment of Washington.—Franklin opens a correspondence with Europe, on the subject of American Independence.—Publication of Common Sense.—Declaration of Independence of the thirteen United States.—Arrival of lord Howe in America.—Franklin's negotiation.—Franklin and Congress.

THE cause of America was not a little aided just before this time, and the British cabinet perplexed and mortified, by the following *jeu d'esprit* of Franklin's, which some readers for a short time knew not whether to consider real or jocular, and which first appeared in the *British Advertiser* under the title of

“A PRUSSIAN EDICT.

“We have long wondered here at the supineness of the English nation, under the Prussian impositions upon its trade entering our port. We did not till lately know the claims, ancient and modern, that hang over our nation, and therefore could not suspect that it might submit to those impositions from a sense of duty, or from principles of equity. The following edict, just made public, may, if serious, throw some light upon this matter:—

“‘Frederick, by the grace of God, king of Prussia, &c. &c. &c. to all present and to come, health. The peace now enjoyed throughout our dominions, having afforded us leisure to apply ourselves to the regulation of commerce, the improvement of our finances, and at the same time the easing our *domestic* subjects in their taxes; for these causes, and other good considerations us thereunto moving, we hereby make known, that, after deliberating these affairs in our council; present, our dear brothers, and other great officers of the state,

members of the same; we, of our certain knowledge, full power, and authority royal, have made and issued this present edict, viz.,

“Whereas it is well known to all the world, that the first German settlements made in the island of Britain, were by colonies of people, subjects to our renowned ducal ancestors, and drawn from their dominions, under the conduct of Hengist, Horsa, Hella, Uffa, Cerdicus, Ida, and others; and that the said colonies have flourished under the protection of our august house, for ages past, have never been emancipated therefrom, and yet have hitherto yielded little profit to the same: and whereas we ourself have in the last war fought for, and defended the said colonies against the power of France, and thereby enabled them to make conquests from the said power in America, for which we have not yet received adequate compensation: and whereas it is just and expedient that a revenue should be raised from the said colonies in Britain towards our indemnification; and that those who are descendants of our ancient subjects, and thence still owe us due obedience, should contribute to the replenishing of our royal coffers (as they must have done, had their ancestors remained in the territories now to us appertaining): we do therefore hereby ordain and command, that from and after the dates of these presents, there shall be levied and paid to our officers of the *customs*, on all goods, wares, and merchandise, and on all grain and other produce of the earth, exported from the said island of Britain, and on all goods of whatever kind imported into the same, a duty of four and a half per cent *ad valorem*, for the use of us and our successors. And that the said duty may more effectually be collected, we do hereby ordain, that all ships or vessels, bound from Great Britain to any other part of the world, or from any other part of the world to Great Britain, shall in their respective voyages touch at our port of Königsberg, there to be unladen, searched, and charged with the said duties.

“ ‘ And whereas there hath been from time to time discovered in the said island of Great Britain, by our colonists there, many mines or beds of *iron-stone*: and sundry subjects of our ancient dominions, skilful in converting the said stone into metal, have in time past transported themselves thither, carrying with them and communicating that art; and the inhabitants of the said island, presuming that they had a natural right to make the best use they could of the natural productions of their country for their own benefit, have not only built furnaces for smelting the said stone into iron, but have erected plating forges, slitting mills, and steel-furnaces, for the more convenient manufacturing of the same, thereby endangering a diminution of the said manufacture in our ancient dominions; we do therefore hereby further ordain that from and after the date hereof, no mill or other engine for slitting or rolling of iron, or any plating forge to work with a tilt-hammer, any furnace for making steel, shall be erected or continued in the said island of Great Britain: and the lordly tenant of every county in the said island is hereby commanded, on information of any such erection within his county, to order, and by force to cause the same to be abated and destroyed, as he shall answer the neglect thereof to us at his peril. But we are nevertheless graciously pleased to permit the inhabitants of the said island to transport their iron into Prussia, there to be manufactured, and to them returned, they paying our Prussian subjects for the workmanship, with all the costs of commission, freight, and risk, coming and returning: any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

“ ‘ We do not, however, think fit to extend this our indulgence to the article of *wool*; but meaning to encourage, not only the manufacturing of woollen cloth, but also the raising of wool in our ancient dominions, and to prevent both, as much as may be, in our said island, we do hereby absolutely forbid the transportation of wool from thence, even to the mother-country, Prussia: and that those islanders may be farther and

more effectually restrained in making any advantage of their own wool, in the way of manufacture, we command, that none shall be carried out of one country into another; nor shall any worsted, hay, or woollen-yarn, cloth, says, bays, kerseys, serges, frizes, druggets, cloth-serges, shalloons, or any other drapery, stuffs, or woollen manufactures whatsoever, made up or mixed with wool in any of the said counties, be carried into any other country, or be water-borne even across the smallest river or creek, on penalty of forfeiture of the same, together with the boats, carriages, horses, &c., that shall be employed in removing them. Nevertheless our loving subjects there are hereby permitted (if they think proper) to use all their wool as manure, for the improvement of their lands.

“‘And whereas the art and mystery of making *hats* hath arrived at great perfection in Prussia, and the making of hats by our remoter subjects ought to be as much as possible restrained: and forasmuch as the islanders before mentioned, being in possession of wool, beaver, and other furs, have presumptuously conceived they have a right to make some advantage thereof, by manufacturing the same into hats, to the prejudice of our domestic manufacture; we do therefore hereby strictly command and ordain, that no hats or felts whatsoever, dyed or undyed, finished or unfinished, shall be loaden, or put into or upon any vessel, cart, carriage, or horse, to be transported or conveyed out of one county of the said island into another county, or to any place whatsoever, by any person or persons whatsoever, on pain of forfeiting the same, with a penalty of five hundred pounds sterling for every offence. Nor shall any hat-makers in any of the said counties employ more than two apprentices, on penalty of five pounds sterling per month, we intending hereby that such hat-makers being so restrained, both in the production and sale of their commodity, may find no advantage in continuing their business. But lest the said islanders should suffer inconveniency by the want of hats, we are farther

graciously pleased to permit them to send their beaver furs to Prussia; and we also permit hats made thereof to be exported from Prussia to Britain: the people thus favoured, to pay all costs and charges of manufacturing, interest, commission to our merchants, insurance and freight, going and returning, as in the case of iron.

“ And lastly, being willing farther to favour our said colonies in Britain, we do hereby also ordain and command, that all the *thieves*, highway and street robbers, house breakers, forgerers, murderers, s—d—tes, and villains of every denomination, who have forfeited their lives to the law of Prussia, whom we, in our great clemency, do not think fit here to hang, shall be emptied out of our jails, into the said island of Great Britain, for the better peopling of that country.

“ We flatter ourselves, that these our royal regulations and command will be thought *just and reasonable* by our much favoured colonists in England; the said regulations being copied from their statutes of 10 & 11 William III. c. 10., 5 George II. c. 22., 23 George II. c. 29., 4 George I. c. 11., and from other equitable laws made by their parliaments, or from instructions given by their princes, or from resolutions of both houses, entered into for the good government of their *own colonies in Ireland and America*.

“ And all persons in the said island are hereby cautioned not to oppose in anywise the execution of this our edict, or any part thereof, such opposition being high treason, of which all who are impeached shall be transported in future from Britain to Prussia, there to be tried and executed according to the Prussian law.

“ Such is our pleasure.

“ Given at Potsdam, this twenty-fifth day of the month of August, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-three, and in the thirty-third year of our reign.

“ By the king in his council.

“ RECHTMASSIG, Sec.?

"Some take this edict to be merely one of the king's *jeu d'esprit*; others suppose it serious, and that he means a quarrel with England; but all here think the assertion it concludes with, 'that these regulations are copied from acts of the English parliament respecting their colonies,' a very injurious one, it being impossible to believe that a people distinguished for their love of liberty, a nation so wise, so liberal in its sentiments, so just and equitable towards its neighbours, should, from mean and injudicious views of petty immediate profit, treat its own children in a manner so arbitrary and tyrannical."

In the midst of this confusion, he also sketched a little emblematical design of the approaching ruinous struggle, representing the general prospects of Great Britain and America, after the manner of the hieroglyphics which frequently appear in the title-pages of our almanacks, containing a silent prediction of the chief events of the year. This was afterwards engraved on a copper-plate, struck off upon cards, and printed on half a sheet of paper, accompanied by the following

"EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE.

"Great Britain is supposed to have been placed upon the globe; but the colonies (that is, her limbs) being severed from her, she is seen lifting up her eyes and mangled stumps to heaven. Her shield, which she is unable to wield, lies useless by her side; her lance has pierced New England; the laurel branch has fallen from the hand of Pennsylvania: the English oak has lost its head, and stands a bare trunk with a few withered branches; briars and thorns are on the ground beneath it; the British ships have brooms on their top-mast heads, denoting their being on sale; and Britannia herself is seen sliding off the world (no longer able to hold its balance) her fragments overspread with the label, DATE OBOLUM BELISARIO.

"*The Moral.*

"History affords us many instances of the ruin of

states by the prosecution of measures ill suited to the temper and genius of their people. The ordaining of laws in favour of one part of the people, to the prejudice and oppression of another, is certainly the most erroneous and mistaken policy. An equal dispensation of rights, protection, privileges and advantages, is what every part is entitled to, and ought to enjoy; it being a matter of no moment to the state, whether a subject grow rich and flourishing on the Thames, or the Ohio, in Edinburgh, or Dublin. These measures never fail to create great and violent jealousies and animosities between the people favoured and the people oppressed; whence a total separation of affection, interests, political obligations, and all manner of connexions, necessarily ensues, by which the whole state is weakened, and perhaps ruined for ever."

Lord Mansfield called this production "very able and very artful indeed," and predicted the twofold mischief it would accomplish; by encouraging the Americans in what he called their "contumacy," and giving at home a bad impression of the measures of government. But Franklin must have been tickled uncommonly with the political acumen of the poet laureate of that day, Paul Whitehead. They happened to be together at lord Despencer's the day on which this article appeared, and Whitehead scanned all the papers to inform the company of whatever news there might be. At last he ran forward out of breath with the paper in his hand, exclaiming, "Here! here's news for you; here's the king of Prussia claiming right to this kingdom." All appeared astonished, and Franklin of course as much as anybody. The poet laureate went on. After two or three paragraphs, one gentleman present exclaimed, "Pretty impudence! I dare say we shall hear by the next post, that he is on his way with a hundred thousand men to back this." The joke however was soon discovered, and all present acknowledged it a fair hit.

Dr Franklin left England in March 1775. Before his arrival, hostilities had commenced in Ame-

rica: Congress had for some time been regularly sitting at Cambridge in Massachusetts. Arms were provided against the British troops, and the government stores were seized, lest they should be taken by the British soldiers. The militias were trained, and it now became obvious that there was no hope of accommodation. When the speech delivered from the throne at the opening of the preceding session, and the addresses returned by both houses of parliament reached America, the indignation and fury of the colonies burst forth, and they resolved one and all to make an appeal to the sword. Congress exhorted the people to lose no time in training their militia preparatory to the approaching crisis; and accordingly on the 19th of April the standard of revolt was publicly erected in the country. The immediate occasion was as follows:—general Gage ordered an expedition to Salem, to take possession of the military stores, but the Americans having anticipated him, he detached nine hundred men to Concord for the same purpose. They marched all night undiscovered, and at five o'clock the next morning, arriving at Lexington, they perceived a company of militia drawn up in the act of exercise. On major Pitcairn ordering them to lay down their arms, they refused, and were immediately fired upon by the troops. The people flew to arms in all directions, and wasted their fury on the British.

Another engagement took place near Concord, between a corps of the provincials, and a detachment of our light infantry, to the evident advantage of the former, two hundred and seventy-three being killed of the British, and about sixty Americans: and had not lord Percy joined them at Lexington with a considerable detachment, they must have been all cut off, or have surrendered themselves prisoners of war. They retreated at the rate of twenty miles in six hours.

The provincial assembly addressed the king, to shew that hostilities originated with the British troops,

and passed a resolution that general Gage had, by his recent conduct, disqualified himself for the office of governor, and that the people had no right to obey him. Lord North's conciliatory plan, which had just arrived, was treated with the utmost contempt. The magazines were seized, an army was raised, preparation for war was the general cry; and a body of militia, containing upwards of twenty thousand men, invested the king's troops in Boston.

In May Franklin had arrived, and the general congress assembling at Philadelphia, resolved to present one more petition to the king, and thus give Britain a last opportunity of reconciliation*, although the minds of the Assembly were so inflamed by their repeated wrongs, that it was with difficulty it was carried through the house.

A letter which Dr Franklin wrote to London soon after his arrival in America, throws a light upon the state in which he found the colonies.

" Philadelphia, May 16, 1775.

"DEAR FRIEND,—You will have heard before this reaches you, of a march stolen by the regulars into the country by night, and of their expedition back again. They retreated twenty miles in six hours.

"The governor had called the Assembly to propose lord North's pacific plan, but, before the time of their meeting, began cutting of throats.—You know it was said he carried the sword in one hand, and the olive-branch in the other; and it seems he chose to give them a taste of the sword first.

"He is doubling his fortifications at Boston, and hopes to secure his troops till succour arrives. The place indeed is naturally so defensible, that I think them in no danger.

"All America is exasperated by his conduct, and more firmly united than ever. The breach between the two countries is grown wider, and in danger of becoming irreparable.

* See Appendix, No. 8.

"I had a passage of six weeks, the weather constantly so moderate, that a London wherry might have accompanied us all the way. I got home in the evening, and the next morning was unanimously chosen by the Assembly a delegate to the Congress now sitting.

"In coming over, I made a valuable philosophical discovery, which I shall communicate to you when I can get a little time. At present I am extremely hurried.

"Your's most affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

The following letter to Mr Strahan was written about this time, and breathes the same spirit as the memorial which he wrote just before he left England. It was very soon inserted in all the public papers of both countries:—

"Philadelphia, July 5, 1775.

"MR STRAHAN,—You are a member of that parliament, and have formed part of that majority, which has condemned my native country to destruction.

"You have begun to burn our towns, and to destroy their inhabitants.

"Look at your hands!—they are stained with the blood of your relations and your acquaintances.

"You and I were long friends; you are at present my enemy, and I am yours,—

"B. FRANKLIN."

The state of the public mind, and the early features of the war, receive additional illustration from the following communication of Dr Franklin to Dr Priestley:—

"DEAR FRIEND,—The Congress met at a time when all minds were so exasperated by the perfidy of general Gage, and his attack on the country people, that propositions of attempting an accommodation

were not much relished ; and it has been with difficulty that we have carried another humble petition to the crown, to give Britain one more chance, one opportunity more of recovering the friendship of the colonies ; which however I think she has not sense enough to embrace, and so I conclude she has lost them for ever.

“ She has begun to burn our sea-port towns ; secure, I suppose, that we shall never be able to return the outrage in kind. She may doubtless destroy them all ; but if she wishes to recover our commerce, are these the probable means ? She must certainly be distracted ; for no tradesman out of bedlam ever thought of increasing the number of his customers by knocking them (on) the head ; or of enabling them to pay their debts by burning their houses.

“ If she wishes to have us subjects, and that we should submit to her as our compound sovereign, she is now giving us such miserable specimens of her government, that we shall ever detest and avoid it, as a complication of robbery, murder, famine, fire and pestilence.

“ You will have heard before this reaches you, of the treacherous conduct of * * * to the remaining people in Boston, in detaining their goods, after stipulating to let them go out with their effects ; the defeat of a great body of his troops, by the country people at Lexington ; some other small advantages gained in skirmishes with their troops ; and the action at Bunker’s hill, in which they were twice repulsed, and the third time gained a dear victory. Enough has happened, one would think, to convince your ministers, that the Americans will fight, and that this is a harder nut to crack than they imagined.

“ We have not yet applied to any foreign power for assistance, nor offered our commerce for their friendship. Perhaps we never may ; yet it is natural to think of it, if we are pressed.

“ We have now an army on the establishment which still holds you besieged.

“My time was never more fully employed. In the morning at six, I am at the committee of safety, appointed by the Assembly to put the province in a state of defence, which committee holds till nine, when I am at the Congress, and that sits till after four in the afternoon. Both these bodies proceed with the greatest unanimity, and their meetings are well attended. It will scarce be credited in Britain, that men can be as diligent with us from zeal for the public good, as with you for thousands per annum. Such is the difference between uncorrupted new states, and corrupted old ones.

“Great frugality and great industry are now become fashionable here: gentlemen who used to entertain with two or three courses, pride themselves now in treating with simple beef and pudding. By these means, and the stoppage of our consumptive trade with Britain, we shall be better able to pay our voluntary taxes for the support of our troops. Our savings in the article of trade amount to near five millions sterling per annum.

“I shall communicate your letter to Mr Winthrop, but the camp is at Cambridge, and he has as little leisure for philosophy as myself.* * * Believe me ever, with sincere esteem, my dear friend,

“Your’s most affectionately.”

The American Congress anticipating no favourable result from England, adopted vigorous measures for defence. They resolved that all the colonies then in league to resist the claims of British usurpation, should be called the United States, and issue a paper currency, for which the resources and fortunes of all should be considered as pledged: that a new post-office should be erected, of which Dr Franklin was to take the management; that the whole of their forces should be under the direction of the illustrious Washington, as commander in chief; that its charter being broken, all connexion was dissolved between the province of Massachusetts and the British government,

and that the province should immediately proceed to the election of a new governor, House of Assembly, &c.; and that all supplies should be withheld from the British army, and the British fisheries in Newfoundland.

General Gage issued a proclamation of pardon to all who should lay down their arms, Adams and Hancock excepted; he put the country under military law, and pronounced, that all who did not embrace the present opportunity of returning to their allegiance, should be punished as traitors and rebels. The Assembly in return expressed their sovereign contempt of this imbecile fulmination, by choosing Mr Hancock president of the General Assembly.

But the acts and regulations of the Congress gave a death-blow to British commerce in America: nearly all the British ships engaged in the Newfoundland fisheries returned home unladen.

Washington, feeling that there was no time to lose, inspected all the corps in the county. He refused all pecuniary compensation, leaving it to the Congress, as he said, to value his services, when his work was done, and being a man of known integrity and military skill, the people cheerfully embarked their lives and liberties in his hands.

The harbour of Boston now gradually filled with British ships of war. Three generals also arrived at Boston, namely, Howe, Burgoyne and Clinton, with large reinforcements of troops, and the inhabitants were directed not to oppose an ineffectual resistance, but by retiring from the place to expose the soldiers to any inconvenience, and reserve themselves for a more effective contest.

The first efforts of the Americans under their new leader, were attended with the most flattering success. On the morning of the 16th of June, the English who made themselves perfectly secure, were alarmed by an unexpected cannonade of the shipping in Boston harbour, and to their astonishment observed a redoubt and other works which had been thrown up by Wash-

ington in the night, on an eminence called Bunker's hill. A useless cannonade was commenced on the part of the British, and general Howe embarked on Charles River with a considerable force to drive them from their station, but as they approached the redoubt, so hot a fire was opened upon them, that they fell in great numbers, and were compelled to retire, but afterwards rallying with fixed bayonets, the Americans retreated, having no intentions at present to come to a regular engagement. The latter reached Cambridge without much inconvenience, The loss of the British was two hundred and twenty-six killed, including nineteen commissioned officers, eight hundred and twenty-eight wounded, including seventy officers. The number of Americans killed and wounded was about four hundred and fifty.

General Washington visited the camp before Boston in July, and continued the blockade; he threw up works on another hill on the side of Charlestown Neck, secured with good strong redoubts, and extended the lines of fortification as far as Boston, thus enclosing the British troops in the Peninsula, where they kept them blockaded through the year. Franklin afterwards learned from the general, that the American army were so short of ammunition during part of this time, that they could not supply more than five rounds a man for the small fire-arms. Artillery were out of the question. They were fired now and then, just to show that they had them, and yet Washington kept the secret with so much spirit and address, that he continued the blockade.

The legislature of the incipient republic was not idle during these scenes of military activity. Principally at Franklin's suggestion, various emissions of paper money took place. In July 1775, three millions of dollars were issued, and in the latter end of 1776, twenty-one millions more, under a promise of exchanging the paper for gold and silver within the space of three years. In the close of the former year we find Dr Franklin appointed on the committee of

Congress to visit the camp at Cambridge, with a view to re-enlisting the troops whose term of service was about to expire; and when general Schnyler and Montgomery afterwards invaded Canada, he accompanied the army to circulate addresses of Congress, and endeavour to gain over that province to the American cause. In the object of his first mission he was successful, but in the latter he failed.

In December he was empowered by Congress to correspond with Mr Dumas, of Holland, on the subject of the disposition of foreign courts towards America, who was anxious to conciliate the governments of Europe to her meditated independence. Congress also now circulated various preparatory tracts for the purpose of ascertaining the mind of their constituents on the subject of their future measures. They forcibly exhibited the natural union between protection and allegiance, and that Great Britain having not only withdrawn the one, but exerted all her force for their destruction, could have little claim to the other. They quoted the prohibitory act as an actual renunciation of its sovereignty on the part of the British government, and insisted that authority so abused, if not already resigned, ought to be forthwith suppressed, and taken without further delay into the people's own hands.

No pen was more constantly or more effectually at work at this period than Franklin's, who had the great wisdom throughout life, as we have seen, to appear only to act with others, when he was in fact acting for them. Jointly with the celebrated Thomas Paine, he now produced the popular pamphlet entitled *Common Sense*; and while fleets and armies were pouring in upon their shores, America saw exhibited the sight, unparalleled in history, of fifty or sixty intrepid senators sitting down to originate a new and supreme government, in opposition to the united councils and strength of one of the first empires of the world.

The important Declaration of Independence, after a

long debate, during which various schemes were agitated, and much difficulty found in adjusting details, was finally agreed to on the 4th day of July 1776. No member of Congress was more decidedly for this measure than Dr Franklin. We think it due to his history, and his influence in the measure to subjoin the document at length.

*A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States
of America in Congress assembled.*

“ WHEN in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature, and of nature’s God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers on such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence indeed will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes, and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off

such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world. He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation, till his assent could be obtained, and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people relinquish the right of representation to the legislature, a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only. He has called together legislative bodies, at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures. He has dissolved representatives' houses, repeatedly opposing with manly firmness his invasion of the rights of the people. He has refused for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the state remaining in the mean time exposed to all the danger of invasions from without, and convulsions within. He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states, for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands. He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers. He has made judges dependant on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount

and payment of their salaries. He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and to eat out their substance. He has kept among us, in time of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures. He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to the civil officer. He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation. For quartering large bodies of armed troops amongst us. For protecting them by a mock trial from punishment, for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of the states. For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world. For imposing taxes on us without our consent. For depriving us in many cases of the benefits of trial by jury. For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences. For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province; establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example of, and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies. For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments. For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with the power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

“He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us. He has plundered our sea, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of the people. He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation. He has constrained our fellow-citizens taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of

their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands. He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of the frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

"In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character has been thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be ruler of a free people.

"Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably intercept our connexion and correspondence. We must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war, in peace, friends!

"We therefore, the representatives of the *United States of America*, in *general Congress* assembled, appealing to the Supreme judge of the world, for the rectitude of our intentions, do in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies solemnly publish and declare that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be *free and independent States*: they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which *Independent States* may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of *divine Providence*, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor!

"The foregoing declaration was by order of Congress engrossed, and signed by the following members.

JOHN HANCOCK.

<i>New Hampshire.</i> Josiah Bartlett. William Whipple. Matthew Thornton.	<i>New Jersey.</i> Richard Stockton. John Witherspoon. Francis Hopkinson. John Hart. Abraham Clark.	Charles Carroll, of Car- rolton.
<i>Massachusetts Bay.</i> Samuel Adams. John Adams. Robert Treat Paine. Elbridge Gerry.	<i>Pennsylvania.</i> Benjamin Franklin. Robert Morris. Benjamin Rush. John Morton. George Clymer. James Smith. George Taylor. James Wilson. George Ross.	<i>Virginia.</i> George Hythe. Richard Henry Lee. Thomas Jefferson. Benjamin Harrison. Thomas Nelson, jun. Francis Lightfoot Lee. Carter Braxton.
<i>Rhode Island.</i> Stephen Hopkins. William Ellery.		<i>North Carolina.</i> William Hooper. Joseph Hewes. John Penn.
<i>Connecticut.</i> Roger Sherman. Samuel Huntington. William Williams. Oliver Wolcott.	<i>Delaware.</i> Cæsar Rodney. George Read.	<i>South Carolina.</i> Edward Rutledge. Thomas Heyward, jun. Thomas Lynd, jun. Arthur Middleton.
<i>New York.</i> William Floyd. Philip Livingston. Francis Lewis. Lewis Morris.	<i>Maryland.</i> Samuel Chase. William Paca. Thomes Stone.	<i>Georgia.</i> Bullon Gwinnett. Lyman Hall. George Walton.

"Resolved, that copies of this declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions, and committees or councils of safety, and to the several commanding officers of continental troops, that it be proclaimed in each of the United States, and at the head of the army."

The Congress were finally emboldened to take this important measure by the remarkable success of their arms. Washington had not only continued the blockade of the British in Boston, but availed himself of general Howe's surprising inactivity, to recruit the American army; so that just before the legislature thus decided, he had entered Boston himself.

In one night, he had fortified the whole of Dorchester heights, which commanded the town, and chained together hogsheds of stones to roll down upon the army that should attempt to retake them. By this stroke of policy, the town became untenable,

and Washington entered in triumph, taking possession of all the stores, cannon, &c. of the British army: for the affair was conducted with such celerity, that the enemy could take nothing away.

In Carolina and Virginia the arms of the new republic were also triumphant.

The British government, having heard that there were many loyalists in the southern provinces, sent an expedition, under the command of sir Henry Clinton and sir Peter Parker, to North Carolina. They proceeded as far as cape Fear, and laid down a plan to attack Virginia; but finding that impracticable, resolved upon Charlestown; and on the 28th June, taking two vessels, each of fifty guns, advanced to attack the fort on Sullivan's island. But here also they made no impression of consequence. The cannonade of the fleet was returned with equal spirit and perseverance by the Americans, until the British commander thought it prudent to slip his cable in the night, and retire from the attack, leaving the Actæon, of twenty-eight guns, on shore.

Franklin thus describes the first campaign of the Americans, in a letter, dated October 3, 1775, to Dr Priestley.

"DEAR SIR,—I am to set out to-morrow for the camp, and having but just heard of this opportunity, can only write a line to say that I am well and hearty. Tell our dear good friend Dr Price, who sometimes has his doubts and despondencies about our firmness, that America is determined and unanimous; a very few Tories and placemen excepted, who will probably soon export themselves. Britain, at the expense of three millions, has killed one hundred and fifty Yankees this campaign, which is 20,000*l.* a head, and at Bunker's Hill she gained a mile of ground, half of which she lost again by our taking post on Ploughed Hill. During the same time sixty thousand children have been born in America. From these data his mathematical head will easily calculate the time and expense

necessary to kill us all, and conquer all our territory. My respects to * * * * and to the club of honest Whigs at * * * *—Adieu, I am ever

“Yours most affectionately,

“B. FRANKLIN.”

In the preceding session of the British parliament, lord North, although abandoned by two distinguished colleagues, the duke of Grafton and general Conway, brought in a bill to interdict all commerce with the Americans, and to devote all American property found either on the high seas, or even in their own harbours, as prize to his Majesty's ships of war. It also included the appointment of commissioners empowered to grant *pardons*, and to determine whether part or the whole of a colony were returned into such a state of obedience as to be received into the king's peace.

Mr Fox proposed an inquiry into the ill success of his Majesty's arms in North America. He observed that he would consider neither the right, the expediency, nor the practicability of coercing America; but for the sake of argument, admitting them all, he would simply inquire, whether the proceedings of ministers upon their own principle had produced the desired and predicted effect. Beginning with the Boston-port bill, he pursued an historical detail of the ministerial measures down to the present time; and from a comprehensive view of the whole, he insisted that his Majesty's ministers were justly chargeable with wickedness, ignorance, and neglect.

This motion was however rejected; and in pursuance of the ministerial measures, lord Howe, commander of the British fleet in North America, and his brother, general Howe, were appointed commissioners to treat with the Americans. His lordship sailed from England on the 12th of May; and on his arrival, published in all directions, that he had terms of a pacific tendency to offer on the part of Great Britain; but was met, to his astonishment, by the American declaration of independence.

From the circumstance of his previous acquaintance with lord Howe, that nobleman, before he made known his commission to Congress, addressed Dr Franklin in the most friendly manner, expressing a hope that he should be assisted by his conciliatory good offices. The reply of Franklin was, as usual, explicit and manly in the declaration of the only measures on the part of the mother country which could possibly reconcile the colonies. The following proceedings in Congress will shew the farther progress of this abortive but very interesting negotiation.

" In Congress, September 2, 1776.

" Congress being informed that general Sullivan, who was taken prisoner in Long Island, was come to Philadelphia, with a message from lord Howe,

" Ordered, that he be admitted and heard before Congress.

" General Sullivan, being admitted, delivered the verbal message he had in charge from lord Howe, which he was desired to reduce to writing, and withdrew."

" September 3.

" General Sullivan, having reduced to writing the verbal message from lord Howe, the same was laid before Congress, and read as follows :—

" The following is the purport of the message sent from lord Howe to Congress, by general Sullivan.

" That though he could not at present treat with Congress as such, yet he was very desirous of having a conference with some of the members, whom he would consider at present only as private gentlemen, and meet them himself as such, at such place as they should appoint.

" That he, in conjunction with general Howe, had full power to compromise the disputes between Great Britain and America, on terms advantageous to both, the obtaining of which delayed him near two months

in England, and prevented his arrival at this place before the declaration of independence took place.

"That he wished a compact might be settled at this time, when no decisive blow was struck, and neither party could say that they were compelled to enter into such an agreement.

"That in case Congress were disposed to treat, many things which they had not yet asked might, and ought to be granted to them; and that if upon the conference they found any probable ground of an accommodation, the authority of Congress must be afterwards acknowledged, otherwise the compact could not be complete."

"September 5.

"Resolved—That general Sullivan be requested to inform lord Howe, that this Congress, being the representatives of the free and independent states of America, cannot with propriety send any of its members to confer with his lordship in their private characters; but ever desirous of establishing peace on reasonable terms, they will send a committee of their body to know whether he has any authority to treat with persons authorized by Congress for that purpose on behalf of America, and what that authority is, and to hear such propositions as he shall think fit to make respecting the same. Ordered, that a copy of the foregoing resolution be delivered to general Sullivan, and that he be directed to repair to lord Howe."

"September 6.

"Resolved—That the committee to be sent to know whether lord Howe has any authority to treat with persons authorized by Congress for that purpose on behalf of America, and what that authority is, and to hear such propositions as he shall think fit to make respecting the same, consist of three.

"The members chosen are Dr Franklin, Mr Adams, and Mr Rutledge.

"Dr Franklin, having announced the appointment of this deputation to lord Howe, received from his lordship the following communication.

“ *Eagle, off Bedlow’s Island,*
Sept. 10, 1776.

“ *To DR FRANKLIN.*—Lord Howe presents his compliments to Dr Franklin, and according to the tenor of his favour of the 8th, will attend to have the pleasure of meeting him, and Messrs Adams and Rutledge, to-morrow morning at the house on Staten Island, opposite to Amboy, as early as the few conveniences for travelling by land on Staten Island will permit. Lord Howe, upon his arrival at the place appointed, will send a boat, if he can procure it in time, with a flag of truce, over to Amboy, and requests the Doctor and the other gentlemen will postpone their intended favour of passing over to meet him, until they are informed as above of his arrival to attend them there. In case the weather should prove unfavourable for lord Howe to pass in his boat to Staten Island to-morrow, as from the present appearance there is some reason to suspect, he will take the next earliest opportunity that offers for that purpose. In this intention he may be further retarded, having been an invalid lately, but will certainly give the most timely notice of that inability. He however flatters himself he shall not have occasion to make further excuses on that account.’

“ *September 13.*

“ The committee appointed to confer with lord Howe, having returned, made a verbal report.

“ Ordered—That they make a report in writing, as soon as they conveniently can.”

“ *September 17.*

“ The committee appointed to confer with lord Howe, agreeable to order, brought in a report in writing, which was read as follows :—

“ ‘ In obedience to the orders of Congress, we have had a meeting with lord Howe : it was on Wednesday last, upon Staten Island, opposite Amboy, where his lordship received and entertained us with the utmost politeness.

“His lordship opened the conversation by acquainting us, that he could not treat with us as a committee of Congress; yet as his powers enabled him to confer and consult with any private gentlemen of influence in the colonies, on the means of restoring peace between the two countries, he was glad of this opportunity of conferring with us on that subject, if we thought ourselves at liberty to enter into a conference with him in that character.

“We observed to his lordship, that as our business was to hear, he might consider us in what light he pleased, and communicate to us any proposition he might be authorised to make for the purpose mentioned; but that we could consider ourselves in no other character than that in which we were placed by order of Congress.

“His lordship then entered into a discourse of a considerable length, which contained no explicit proposition of peace, except one, viz. that the colonies should return to their allegiance and obedience to Great Britain. The rest consisted principally of assurances that there was an exceeding good disposition in the king and his ministers to make that government easy to us, with intimations, that in case of our submission, they would cause the offensive acts of parliament to be revised, and the instructions to governors to be reconsidered; so that if any just cause of complaint were found in the acts, or any errors in government were perceived to have crept into the instructions, they might be amended or withdrawn.

“We gave it as our opinion to his lordship, that a return to the domination of Great Britain was not now to be expected. We mentioned the repeated humble petitions of the colonies to the king and parliament, which had been treated with contempt, and answered only by additional injuries; the unexampled patience we had shown under their tyrannical government; and that it was not till the last act of parliament, which denounced war against us, and put

us out of the king's protection, that we declared our independence. That this declaration had been called for by the people of the colonies in general; that every colony had approved of it when made; and all now considered themselves as independent states, and were settling, or had settled, their governments accordingly; so that it was not in the power of Congress to agree for them, that they should return to their former dependent state. That there was no doubt of their inclination to peace, and their willingness to enter into a treaty with Great Britain that might be advantageous to both countries. That though his lordship had at present no power to treat with them as independent states, he might, if there was the same good disposition in Britain, much sooner obtain fresh powers from thence, than powers could be obtained by Congress from the several colonies to consent to a submission.

“ ‘ His lordship then, saying that he was sorry to find that no accommodation was likely to take place, put an end to the conference.

“ ‘ Upon the whole, it did not appear to your committee, that his lordship's commission contained any other authority of importance, than what is expressed in the act of parliament, viz. that of granting pardons, with such exceptions as the commissioners shall think proper to make, and of declaring America, or any part of it, to be in the king's peace, upon submission: for as to the power of inquiring into the state of America, which his lordship mentioned to us, and of conferring and consulting with any persons the commissioners might think proper, and representing the result of such conversation to the ministry, who, provided that the colonies would subject themselves, might after all, or might not, at their pleasure, make any alterations in their former instructions to governors, or propose in parliament any amendment of the acts complained of, we apprehended any expectation from the effect of such a power would have been too uncertain and pre-

carious to be relied on by America, had she still continued in her state of dependence.'

"Ordered—That the above be published.

"JOHN HANCOCK, *President*.

"Attest, CHARLES THOMPSON, *Secretary*."

Lord Howe still considered it his duty to attempt every conciliatory measure for bringing back the colonies to their obedience. He therefore addressed circular letters to the governors of the different provinces, acquainting them with the ample powers with which he and his brother were invested, inserting copies of them in all the public prints. He at the same time attempted to open a correspondence with general Washington; but after many difficulties in point of form were adjusted, the negotiation failed, as might have been expected, upon the same point as his overtures to the Congress. Washington told him it was clear that his powers only extended to the granting of pardons to those who had committed no injury, and who felt themselves entitled to seek for redress and not forgiveness.

And thus closed every effort of various good and great men to heal the direst breach that was ever made in the noble structure of the British commonwealth. It became now an appeal to arms; and while on the one hand vacillation, and weakness, and attempted tyranny, mark throughout the councils of the mother-country in this unhappy juncture, it must be remembered, that successful war is ever the argument of might, not of right; and that the result of the ensuing contest was as much effected by French jealousy of Great Britain, as by American resistance to her measures.

CHAPTER X.

Convention at Philadelphia for the settlement of the Pennsylvanian constitution.—Dr Franklin's opinion on the subject.—Progress of the war.—Battle of Brookline.—Low state of the American army and resources.—Perseverance of Congress.—Dr Franklin requested to go to Europe as American envoy.—Proposals of peace to be taken with him agitated.—Sails.—The gulf stream.—Arrives in France, where he is kindly received by various individuals, and by the government privately.—Takes up his residence at Passy.—French assistance rendered to the Americans covertly.—News of the capture of general Burgoyne's army arrives in Europe.—Rejoicings at Paris.—New measures in London.—Letters of marque granted against America.—Lord Chatham moves for a redress of the American grievances, and asserts the conquest of America to be impossible.—In France the news decides the ministry.—Treaties of amity and commerce, and of alliance offensive and defensive, signed between the United States and France.—The American envoy received at Court as minister-plenipotentiary.—Anecdotes of Franklin at Paris.—Notices in the British Parliament of these treaties, by Mr Fox and by lord Chatham.—Lord Chatham's last speech.—French fleet sails for America.—Dr Franklin highly distinguished at Paris.—Writes a comparison between the credit of Great Britain and that of America.—Successes of the French and Spanish fleets against English commerce.—Arnold's treachery.

IN July, 1776, a convention was called at Philadelphia, for the purpose of settling a proper form of government for the province of Pennsylvania, agreeably to the manifesto of Congress requesting those colonies whose governments were not sufficient to preserve peace and order, to frame new governments for themselves. Of the Philadelphian Assembly Dr Franklin was president, and the constitution was founded on the basis of his political opinions. He was averse from monarchy, which, however modified, he regarded as having a natural tendency to degenerate into despotism. In his opinion, the most perfect form of human government was that of a single legislative and plural executive. He contended, that a single assembly of true statesmen would afford a sufficient arena for the full discussion and impartial examination of every public question, while its unity

would give both energy and simplicity to the state machine. The numerous and distinct details of executive government equally demanded, in his view, distinct official departments, each furnished with competent powers of action. At the commencement of the French Revolution, Rochefoucault and other French philosophers were so much charmed with this "maximum of simplicity," as they termed it, in the unity of the legislative bodies, that they proposed avowedly to copy it in the celebrated National Assembly of France.

In this convention also Dr Franklin suggested the unfairness of the large and small states of the American union being placed on an equality with regard to their votes in the general Congress. He reminded his constituents, and proposed, in conjunction with them, to draw up a paper which should impress upon the Congress, that the practice of allowing one vote to each colony was only adopted in the first instance as a measure of necessity, and because that body had not been able in its early assemblies to obtain correct data with respect to the relative importance of each state. In the nature of things, he contended that the respective states of the confederacy should have votes in the Congress, and be represented there, in proportion to their political importance. The equity of this in point of principle was undeniable, but the question was complicated with many practical difficulties. The numerical amount of population was one important point: the property, intelligence, and actual amount of public contributions, were others. In short, Franklin himself found the question altogether too abstract for discussion at the present crisis, and wisely therefore withdrew a proposed protest addressed to Congress upon this business.

Although from this period the subject of our memoir was not actively engaged in the sanguinary contest of his country for her very existence as a nation, the opening of the American campaign 1776 decided the principal occupation of his future years.

Lord Howe, from his late interview with the American delegates, considering a reconciliation impossible, began to press vigorous measures. On the 22nd of August, an army composed of British and Hessian soldiers landed on Long Island, opposite to a body of American troops encamped near Brookline, under the command of general Washington, and constituting the flower of the American army. A ridge of hills intersected the island from east to west, and served at first as a separation between the two armies. Three passes which lay through them were commanded by different detachments of the Americans. Nothing remarkable occurred till the 26th, when the whole British army, under generals Cornwallis, Clinton, and Percy, marched forward, gained the eastern pass, and the next morning drew up in order of battle. The Americans followed the example; and at nine o'clock the action began by a heavy cannonade on the right wing of the Americans. Clinton now, by a skilful manœuvre turning the left wing, took the right wing of the enemy in the rear; and the whole American army was thrown into confusion. They then commenced a retreat to the village of Brookline, in the course of which general Sullivan and two other officers, together with one thousand men, were taken prisoners of war, leaving two thousand dead upon the field; while the loss of the British and Hessians in this affair did not exceed three hundred and fifty men.

The Americans withdrew on the night of the 29th, crossing the channel to the island on which New York is situated, and at first taking up a position three miles from that city; but Washington, finding the troops dispirited, was compelled to continue his retreat. Fort Washington, with its garrison of 2600 men, and Fort Lee, now fell into the hands of the British, who overran New Jersey as far as Brunswick. The army of the new republic, diminished by desertion and defeat, did not, on its reaching the Delaware, exceed 3000 effective men. The British commanders, Howe and

Cornwallis, did not act in concert; for the latter declared he could have dispersed the American army at this time, and thus have finished the war.

Amongst other gloomy circumstances for America, the capture of one of her ablest generals, Lee, in the neighbourhood of New York, was not the least considerable, he having formerly held a commission under the British crown: this officer united considerable military experience with great promptitude. England considered him a great acquisition as a prisoner of war, and at first affected to regard him as a traitor.

But the dignity and perseverance of the Congress were equal to every thing. They were careful to advertise the British authorities, that any treatment to captive Americans, contrary to the usual law of nations as prisoners of war, would be severely retaliated. They issued letters of marque and reprisal, and the privateers of their country spread themselves over the ocean; European nations looked toward them with respect, and even with envy. A diplomatic correspondence was opening with all Europe; and the year did not close without their publicly designating Franklin to the most important office he ever filled, that of minister plenipotentiary from the United States to France.

Dr Franklin was at this period in the 71st year of his age. No public man connected with its most polished courts had greater reputation in Europe. His philosophical attainments were the graceful ornaments of a solid and statesman-like mind; while his political sentiments and liberal tone of thinking were exactly adapted to his new station. Previously to his embarkation from America, he suggested the propriety of the Congress furnishing him with some bases of peace with England. These, he urged, would in case of capture be a protection to his person, if found upon him; while it was possible they would also facilitate his success in France. He therefore drew up a sketch of propositions for peace with England at this time, bold enough certainly in

their claims on the mother-country, but well calculated, as our author knew, to divide her councils, and to benefit America. In this paper he proposed.

I. That Great Britain should acknowledge the independence of the United States.

II. That the mother-country should cede to the United States, the provinces of Quebec, St. John's, Nova Scotia, Bermuda, East and West Florida, and the Bahama Isles, with all the dependent intermediate territories.

III. That the United States should pay to Great Britain an annual sum, say 100,000*l.* for ten years, in recompence for the abandonment of her sovereignty over the colonies.

IV. That America should also guarantee free trade to the subjects of Great Britain throughout all her territories, as well as the peaceable possession of the British West Indies.

Franklin calculated, that on the one hand his country might soon expend in war more than the sum stipulated, and that the being willing to pay it would on the other hand work upon the pecuniary feelings of England, and might, as he states, "furnish a pretence" for his going there.

It does not appear that this paper was in any formal way adopted by his countrymen; but having thus expressed his mind on these important topics, he left Philadelphia for Marcus Hook, October 26, 1776, attended by his two grandchildren, William Temple Franklin and Benjamin Franklin Bache. The United States' sloop *Reprisal*, of sixteen guns, commanded by captain Wicks, was ordered to wait upon him. The party embarked at this place for France on the 28th. In her passage she captured two English brigs, and, being a good sailer, saw land at Belleisle on the 28th of November. On the 29th she entered Quiberon Bay; but the wind being contrary for three or four days, she could not get up the Loire: Dr Franklin and his grandsons were therefore put on shore at Auray, December 3rd.

During this passage Dr Franklin made daily experiments on the temperature of sea-water, with a view to ascertaining the ship's course in relation to the GULF STREAM. To this subject, as opportunity was afforded, he had directed his attention for several years ; and it is to him, we believe, that the European maps of the Atlantic owe their first delineation of its course.

Dr Franklin and his young attendants had no very propitious entrance into France at this time. Auray was not a post town ; and between that place and Vannes, where a chaise was procured for them the next day, they passed a wood late in the evening, where they had the felicity to be told of a robbery and murder committed a few days before. His grandsons noticed the remarkable fairness of the female complexion in this part of France ; and our philosopher states that he saw on the road to Nantes the fairest woman he ever beheld. In the north of France, except about Abbeville, the complexion of both sexes, he says, was remarkably swarthy.

Although Dr Franklin did not at this time assume publicly a diplomatic character, he very cordially availed himself of every display of public feeling on behalf of his country. When therefore, at Nantes, a M. Gruel and several friends of America invited him as the representative of the United States to a public dinner, he accepted the compliment : the party afterwards adjourned for the evening to the country seat of this gentleman, and the American delegate was welcomed to France by "crowds" of respectable visitors.

He was solicited very hospitably to remain in this comparative retirement ; and the invitation accorded with the state of his health. He therefore forwarded to Mr Silas Deane, at Paris, a copy of their joint commission from Congress, and requested all the information he could communicate of the state of parties, the disposition of the French court, &c., to be forwarded to him at this place ; where he had the satis-

faction to learn that he was expected in France as the advocate of the new Republic, and that his predecessor had already prevailed with the government to despatch 30,000 firelocks, 200 brass field-pieces, and other military stores, under convoy of a sloop of war, to America. But so cautious were the French ministry at this time, on the subject of committing themselves with England, that Caron de Beaumarchais, the agent of the court, was ordered to establish a commercial house at Paris, under the firm of Roderigue, Hortalez, and Co., which, though supplied with the cannon and stores from the arsenals of France, debited them to Congress in a regular way, and stipulated to receive in return tobacco and other articles of American produce to the full amount. The artillery, &c., employed in the capture of general Burgoyne's army, were obtained from France in the same way.

Dr Franklin left Nantes for Paris, 15th December, and resided for about three weeks in that capital; when he removed to Passy, a beautiful village about a league from the barriers, and occupied the house of his friend M. Le Roy de Chaumont.

He now deliberated, with a wisdom worthy the friend and adviser of Chatham, on the entire situation and prospects of his country. He knew that to obtain any alliances with European powers, she must earn a station of respectability and equality with them; as certainly as that, with regard to the mother-country, she must conquer in war before she could expect her independence to be acknowledged by a peace. Dr Franklin therefore found it necessary to contradict the general report, that he was commissioned to Europe solely, or even principally, to negotiate a peace in the first instance. He was ordered thither, he stated, to procure aids for carrying on the just and unavoidable war in which his country was engaged: aids which, as he was prepared to shew, it was as much the interest of the principal European states to grant, as of the Americans to receive; since

they had, in fact, a trade of seven millions per annum, of which Great Britain had heretofore enjoyed the monopoly, to offer in return; and since, with respect to France in particular, the rising strength of the new Republic had a direct claim on her attention. It crippled the power of her ancient enemy in that quarter where, had it been uninterrupted, it might have grown to a boundless extent, of which France must have felt sufficient proof in the events of the late war. Should America succeed in maintaining her independence, she could offer, he contended, the fairest opportunity for that country to strengthen both her commercial and naval resources; should she fall, England would be aggrandized once more in both; and even in her military resources, by the excellent soldiers now training on both sides in this war.

In his private conversation and correspondence, he spoke openly of his indignation against the mother-country. Defenceless towns burnt in the midst of winter, slaves excited to revolt against and murder their masters, and the savage Indians encouraged to assassinate and sack peaceable farmers, their wives and children, were injuries, he declared, in which his own ill-treatment by her was swallowed up and forgotten. These ever whetted his resentment, and made him feel all thoughts of returning to her dominion as revolting and intolerable.

The French ministry fell in at once with much of his able reasoning, and received him and his colleague privately with the greatest respect. But Great Britain was watchful, and instructed her ambassador, lord Stormont, to make the strictest inquiry upon the subject of certain hostile preparations in the ports of France. Steps were therefore taken to conciliate the British cabinet; and the immediate consequences, with regard to some individuals, exhibit the petty minds and resources of some of the world's great men. Although merchants had exported warlike stores to America immediately under the sanction of the French court, Hodge, an American merchant, was com-

mitted to the Bastille for equipping a privateer from Dunkirk ; and the master of the *Amphitrite*, who had just returned from America, after landing a supply of artillery, was also arrested ; while count deVergennes, the minister for foreign affairs, remonstrated with the American deputies (16th July, 1777) on the nature of their proceedings.

The spring indeed of this year brought no flattering intelligence of American affairs : Washington had been compelled to retreat and avoid any decisive engagement. At the conclusion of 1776, the British troops in America amounted to nearly 28,000 men ; the American commander could scarcely muster four thousand effective men ; and it was not until the latter end of May that Congress were able to send him any reinforcement. Dr Fothergill wrote at this time, for the information of Franklin, that while the American cause still had its warm friends in England, the intelligence received across the Atlantic had almost convinced them that the struggle was at an end ; that the shadow of authority in Congress could scarcely be said to exist ; that a general defection from that body was apparent ; that their troops deserted by shoals, that the officers were discontented, and that no new levies could be made : in short, that nothing remained but to divide the country among the conquerors.

The councillors of a higher monarchy however favoured the American cause. In the midst of French vacillation, and anticipated British triumphs, the news of the entire surrender of major-general Burgoyne's army to general Gates, arrived in Europe, and seems to have decided the French ministry. Throughout Paris public rejoicings took place at the event ; and our philosopher was not tardy in taking advantage of the public feeling. In April 1777, he had made certain advantageous offers to Spain, through the count d'Aranda, the Spanish ambassador at Paris ; and he now reminded M. de Vergennes, that America would

no longer brook the total neglect of her claims and proffered friendship.

It will be interesting at this crisis to glance hastily at the proceedings of the British parliament. A bill passed the Commons in February, to enable the admiralty to grant letters of marque against all vessels belonging to the revolted colonies; and lord North at the same time moved for a bill "to enable his majesty to secure and detain persons charged with, or suspected of, the crime of high treason committed in America." The former measure was passed unanimously, the latter not without considerable opposition.

In the Lords, the earl of Chatham, notwithstanding his great age and infirmities, resolved to make one more effort in favour of his falling country. On the 30th of May, he therefore moved their lordships for an address to his majesty, requesting that the most speedy and effectual measures might be taken for putting a stop to the hostilities carrying on against the American colonies, upon the only just and solid foundation, that of "the removal of accumulated grievances." "The gathering storm may break; it has already opened, and in part burst. It is difficult for government, after all that has passed, to shake hands with defiers of the king, defiers of the parliament, defiers of the people. I am a defier of nobody; but if an end is not put to this war, there is an end to this country. I state to you the importance of America; it is a double market; the market of consumption, and the market of supply. This double market for millions, with naval stores, you are giving to your hereditary rival. America has carried you through former wars, and will now carry you to your death, if you don't take things in time. In the sportsman's phrase, when you have found yourself at fault, you must try back. I am experienced in spring hopes and vernal promises; I know what ministers throw out; but at last will come your equinoctial disappointments. You have got nothing in America but stations.

You have been three years teaching them the art of war. They are apt scholars ; and I will venture to tell your lordships, that the American gentry will make officers enough, fit to command the troops of all the European powers. What you have sent there are too many to make peace, too few to make war. If you conquer them, what then? You cannot make them respect you; you cannot make them wear your cloth. You will plant an invincible hatred in their breasts against you. Coming from the stock they do, they never can respect you." He afterwards said: "The proposal is specific. I thought it so clear, that I did not enlarge upon it. I mean the redress of all their grievances, and the right of disposing of their own money. This is to be done instantaneously. I will get out of my bed to move it on Monday. This will be the herald of peace; this will open the way for treaty; this will shew parliament sincerely disposed. Yet still much must be left to treaty. Should you conquer this people, you conquer under the cannon of France; under a masked battery then ready to open. The moment a treaty with France appears, you must declare war, though you had only five ships of the line in England; but France will defer a treaty as long as possible."

On the 18th November in a speech on the address to the king, he said, "*But yesterday, and England might have stood against the world: now none so poor to do her reverence.*" I use the words of a poet; but though it is poetry, it is no fiction. It is a shameful truth, that not only the power and strength of this country are wasting away and expiring; but her well-earned glories, her true honour, and substantial dignity, are sacrificed. France, my lords, has insulted you; she has encouraged and sustained America; and whether America be wrong or right, the dignity of this country ought to spurn at the officious insult of French interference. The ministers and ambassadors of those who are called rebels and enemies are in Paris; in Paris they transact the reciprocal interest

of America and France. Can there be a more mortifying insult? Can even our ministers sustain a more humiliating disgrace? Do they dare to resent it? Do they presume even to hint a vindication of their honour, and the dignity of the state, by requiring the dismissal of the plenipotentiaries of America? Such is the degradation to which they have reduced the glories of England! The people whom they affect to call contemptible rebels, but whose growing power has at last obtained the name of enemies; the people with whom they have engaged this country in war, and against whom they now command our implicit support in every measure of desperate hostility: this people, despised as rebels, or acknowledged as enemies, are abetted against you, supplied with every military store, their interests consulted, and their ambassadors entertained, by your inveterate enemy! And our ministers dare not interpose with dignity, or effect! Is this the honour of a great kingdom? Is this the indignant spirit of England, who "but yesterday" gave law to the house of Bourbon? My lords, the dignity of nations demands a decisive conduct in a situation like this. I love and honor the English troops: I know their virtues and their valor: I know they can achieve any thing except impossibilities; and I know that the conquest of English America *is an impossibility*. You cannot, I venture to say it, you CANNOT conquer America. Your armies last war effected every thing that could be effected; and what was it? It cost a numerous army, under the command of a most able general, now a noble lord in this house, a long and laborious campaign, to expel five thousand Frenchmen from French America. My lords, *you cannot conquer America*. What is your present situation there? We do not know the worst; but we know, that in three campaigns we have done nothing, and suffered much. Besides the sufferings, perhaps *total loss*, of the northern force, the best appointed army that ever took the field, commanded by sir William Howe, has retired from the American lines; *he was obliged* to relinquish his at-

tempt, and with great delay and danger, to adopt a new and distant plan of operations. We shall soon know, and in any event have reason to lament, what may have happened since. As to conquest, therefore, my lords, I repeat, it is impossible."

The account of this total loss, predicted on the 18th of November, arrived in England in the beginning of December. We have no space for the insertion of this great man's cutting appeal to the British senate, on our employment of the Indians against the Americans. These murderers and plunderers, he told the British ministry, were the only allies they had acquired; and as to their subsidizing the Hessians, "trafficking and bartering with every little pitiful German prince, who would sell and send his subjects to the shambles of a foreign power"—"your efforts," he said, "are for ever vain and impotent, doubly so, from this mercenary aid on which you rely; for it irritates to an incurable resentment the minds of your enemies, to over-run them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder, devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty! If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I would never lay down my arms, never! never! never!"

All the views of lord Chatham, upon this unhappy business, were indeed prophetic.

France now as fearful of an accommodation between Great Britain and her colonies, as she was before of provoking the former to hostilities, came to an immediate decision in favour of America, and Mons. Gerand, secretary to the council of state, was despatched to inform the commissioners, "that after a long and mature deliberation upon their propositions, his Majesty had resolved to recognize the independence of and to enter into a treaty of commerce and alliance with the United States, and that he would not only acknowledge their independence, but actually support it with all the means in his power; that perhaps he was about to engage himself in an expensive war upon

their account, but that he did not expect to be reimbursed by them ; in fine, the Americans were not to think that he entered into this resolution solely with a view of serving them, since independently of his real attachment to them and their cause, it was evidently the interest of France to diminish the power of England, by severing her colonies from her."

This important communication was received by Dr Franklin and his colleagues on the 6th December, 1777. Two commissions were accordingly given to Mons. Gerand, on the 30th January, and on the 6th of the February following a treaty of amity and commerce, and another of alliance, eventual and defensive, were entered into and signed at Paris, between his most Christian Majesty and the Thirteen United States of North America.

Those treaties were to have been kept secret till the ratifications were exchanged, but about that time the English ministry having formed the design of sending lord Carlisle, Mr Eden, and governor Johnstone to America, who in conjunction with the commander-in-chief of the land and sea forces there, were empowered to make terms with Congress, the French government, to prevent any successful issue of this commission, instructed the marquis de Noailles, the French ambassador there, to inform the court of London that treaties had been concluded, and that France and America were now in defensive alliance. On intelligence of which, lord Stormont, was instructed to return immediately to England, and the marquis de Noailles withdrew to France.

The British government were now astonished at the gulf yawning beneath their authority in America. The commissioners, however, proceeded to their destination, and used every art of persuasion and deception to come to an agreement with the colonies. Governor Johnstone even asserted that Dr Franklin approved the propositions which the British commissioners carried out ; but this was a mean and palpable falsehood, which that great man thought it incumbent

upon him to contradict, in a letter to the president of Pennsylvania.

Franklin and his colleagues were now publicly received at court, introduced in form to the count de Maurepas, the first minister to the king and queen, his late majesty Louis XVIII, and to all the members of the royal family. The plenipotentiaries afterwards dined with the count de Vergennes, and were honoured with a special invitation in the evening to the "*Jeu de la Reine*," where Dr Franklin was particularly noticed by the unfortunate Marie Antoinette. On this occasion, a number of Americans being in Paris, accompanied their distinguished countrymen to court, and his age, his venerable appearance, says a French historian, the simplicity of his dress on such an occasion, every thing that was either singular or respectable in his life, contributed to augment the public attention. Clapping of hands, and a variety of other demonstrations of joy, announced that warmth of affection of which the French are more susceptible than any other people, and of which their politeness and civility augments the charm to him who is the object of it.

"His majesty addressed him as follows:

" ' You may assure the United States of America of my friendship: I beg leave to observe that I am exceedingly satisfied, in particular, with your own conduct, during your residence in my kingdom.'—When the new ambassador, after this audience, crossed the court, in order to repair to the minister of foreign affairs, the multitude waited for him in the passage, and hailed him with their acclamations."

Madame Campan, in her memoirs of the private life of Marie Antoinette, gives the following sketch of our philosopher's reception and appearance at this time.

"While delight at having given an heir to the throne of the Bourbons, and a succession of fêtes and amusements, filled up the happy days of Marie Antoinette, the community was solely engrossed with the Anglo-American war. Two kings, or rather their ministers,

planted and propagated the love of liberty in the new world; the king of England by shutting his ears and his heart against the continued and respectful representations of subjects at a distance from their native land, who had become numerous, rich, and powerful, through the resources of the soil they had fertilized; and the king of France, by giving support to the people in rebellion against their ancient sovereign. Many young soldiers, belonging to the first families of the country, followed La Fayette's example, and broke through all the illusions of grandeur, and all the charms of luxury, of amusements, and of love, to go and tender their courage and their information to the revolted Americans. Beaumarchais, secretly seconded by Messrs de Maurepas and de Vergennes, obtained permission to send out to the Americans supplies of arms and clothing. Franklin appeared at court in the dress of an American cultivator. His strait unpowdered hair, his round hat, his brown cloth coat, formed a contrast with the laced and embroidered coats, and the powdered and perfumed heads of the courtiers of Versailles. This novelty turned the enthusiastic heads of the women of France. Elegant entertainments were given to Dr Franklin, who to the reputation of a most skilful physician, added the patriotic virtues which had invested him with the noble character of an apostle of liberty. I was present at one of these entertainments, when the most beautiful woman out of three hundred was selected to place a crown of laurels upon the white head of the American philosopher, and two kisses upon his cheeks. Even in the palace of Versailles, Franklin's medallion was sold under the king's eye, in the exhibition of Sevres porcelain. The legend of this medallion was

Erepuît cælo fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis.

“ The king never declared his opinion upon an enthusiasm, which his correct judgment no doubt led him to blame: however the countess Diana, having, to keep up to her character as a woman of superior

talent, entered with considerable warmth into the idolatry of the American delegate: a jest was played off upon her, which was kept secret enough, and may give us some idea of the private sentiments of Louis XVI. He had a *vase de nuit* made at the Sèvres manufactory, at the bottom of which was a medallion with its fashionable legend; and he sent the utensil to the countess Diana, as a new year's gift. The queen spoke out more plainly about the part France was taking respecting the independence of the American colonies, and constantly opposed it. Far was she from foreseeing that a revolution at such a distance could excite one, in which the day would come, when a misguided populace would drag her from her palace to a death equally unjust and cruel. She only saw something ungenerous in the method which France adopted of checking the power of England."

We cannot forbear to add the following extract from "Historical Anecdotes of the reign of Louis XVI," which contains some interesting particulars of the appearance and conduct of our author at this time. The negotiation with De Sartine is not mentioned by Franklin's grandson; but the other parts being authentic, as the reader will have seen, he must judge for himself of this:—

"Messrs Deane and Franklin, deputies from the insurgents in 1777, lived at Paris without retinue, without splendour, and without ostentation: they showed a citizen-like plainness. Dr Franklin was very much sought after, and constantly entertained, not only by his scientific brethren, but by all who could persuade him to visit them; for he did not easily suffer himself to be drawn out, and lived in a state of privacy, which was supposed to have been enjoined him by his government. He dressed himself in the very plainest manner. His physiognomy was fine, and he constantly wore spectacles: he had but little hair, and always wore a fur cap, no powder; an air of cleanliness, linen perfectly white, and a brown coat, formed the whole outward ornament of his person.

His only weapon was a stick, which he carried in his hand. Powerfully solicited by Silas Deane and Franklin, the court of France began to take an interest in insurgent America. Beaumarchais, who intrigued with the count de Maurepas, knew how to profit by circumstances. He was privately authorized to trade in arms with the English colonies. They were partly indebted for the unexpected advantage of the warlike stores necessary for their first campaign, to the influence and activity of that agent. Beaumarchais gained immense sums by selling them, at a dear rate, his zeal and services, and laughed at the accusation, whether well or ill founded, of having sold them worn out arms and the worst stores of all kinds. Mr Deane, tired out by the delays and even excuses of M. de Sartine, then minister of the marine, wrote to him, that unless within forty-eight hours he made up his mind to get the treaty of alliance between France and America signed, he would negotiate with England for a reconciliation. He adopted this hasty and irregular course without the participation of his colleague. The moment Dr Franklin heard of it, he thought all was lost. 'You have offended the court of France, and ruined America,' exclaimed the philosopher. 'Be easy till we get an answer,' replied the negotiator. 'An answer! we shall be thrown into the Bastile.' 'That remains to be seen.' After the lapse of a few hours, M. de Sartine's chief secretary made his appearance. 'You are requested, gentlemen, to hold yourselves in readiness for an interview: at midnight you will be called for.' 'At midnight!' cries Dr Franklin, the moment the secretary is gone: 'my prediction is verified! Mr Deane, you have ruined all.' They were of course sent for at the appointed hour. The American envoys got into a carriage, and reached a country house of M. de Sartine, five miles from Paris, where he chose to receive them, the better to hide this step under the veil of mystery. They were introduced to the minister; and the declaration so imperiously demanded by Mr Deane was instantly

signed. The American deputies returned to Paris in triumph, and Franklin confessed that in politics patience was not always the only thing to be relied on."

On the intelligence of the capture of general Burgoyne's army being confirmed in England, lord Chatham went to the house of Lords, to make a motion upon that subject, which he introduced with remarking, "that the king's speech at the opening of the session conveyed general information of the measures intended to be pursued, and looked forward to the probable occurrences which might be supposed to happen. He had that speech now in his hand, and a deep sense of the public calamity in his heart. They would both co-operate to enforce and justify the measure he meant to propose. He was sorry to say, the speech contained a very unfaithful picture of the state of public affairs. This assertion was unquestionable; not a noble lord in administration would dare to rise, and even so much as controvert the fact. The speech held out a specious outside, was full of hopes; yet it was manifest, that everything within and without, foreign and domestic, was full of danger, and calculated to inspire the most melancholy forebodings. His lordship hoped, that this sudden call for their lordships' attention would be imputed to its true motive, a desire of obtaining their assistance in such a season of difficulty and danger; a season in which, he would be bound to maintain, a single moment was not to be lost. It was customary, he said, for that house to offer an address of condolence to his majesty upon any public misfortune, as well as one of congratulation on any public success. If this were the usage of Parliament, he never recollected a period at which such an address became more seasonable, or more necessary, than at present. If what was acknowledged in the other house were true, he was astonished that some public notice was not taken of the sad, the melancholy disaster. The report was, that the fact was acknowledged by persons in high authority (lords *Germain* and *North*) that general Burgoyne and his army were surrounded, and obliged

to surrender themselves prisoners of war to the provincials. He should take the account of this calamitous event, as now stated, and argue upon it as a matter universally allowed to be true." He then lamented the fate of Mr Burgoyne in the most pathetic terms; and said, that gentleman's character, the glory of the British arms, and the dearest interests of this undone, disgraced country, had been all sacrificed to the ignorance, temerity, and incapacity of ministers. Appearances, he observed, were indeed dreadful; he was not sufficiently informed to decide on the extent of the numerous evils with which we were surrounded; but they were clearly sufficient to give just cause for alarm to the most confident or callous heart. His lordship spoke in the most pointed terms of the system, introduced within the last fifteen years at St James's, of breaking all public and family connexions, of extinguishing all public and private principle. "A few men had got an ascendancy, where no man should have a personal ascendancy; by the executive powers of the state being at their command, they had been furnished with the means of creating divisions. This brought pliable men, not capable men, into the highest and most responsible situations; and to such men was the government of this once glorious empire now intrusted. The spirit of delusion had gone forth; the ministers had imposed on the people; parliament had been induced to sanctify the imposition; false lights had been held out to the country gentlemen: they had been seduced into the support of a most destructive war, under the impression that the land tax would be diminished by the means of an American revenue. The visionary phantom, thus conjured up for the basest of all purposes, that of deception, was now about to vanish. He condemned the contents of the speech in the bitterest terms of reproach. He said it abounded with absurdity and contradiction. In one part it recommended vigorous measures, pointing to conquest, or unconditional submission; while in another it pretended to

say, that peace was the real object, as soon as the deluded multitude should return to their allegiance. This, his lordship contended, was the grossest and most insolent delusion. It was by this strange mixture of firmness and pretended candour, of cruelty and mercy, justice and iniquity, that this infatuated nation had been all along misled."

Mr Fox was the first person to mention, in the house of Commons, that he had heard, from unquestionable authority, of a treaty having been signed at Paris, ten days before, between France and the American colonies, whereby the former acknowledged and entered into an alliance with the latter as an independent state. Lord North reluctantly acknowledged that it was but too probable such a treaty was in agitation, though he had no authority to pronounce absolutely that it was concluded.

The duke of Grafton, in the House of Peers, put the same question to ministers; when lord Weymouth, the secretary of state, answered, "that he knew nothing of any such treaty, nor had he received any authentic information of its being either in existence or in contemplation." But a few days afterwards lord North delivered a message from his sovereign to the Commons, and lord Weymouth to the Upper House, informing them that "a rescript had been delivered by the ambassador of his Most Christian Majesty, containing a direct avowal of a treaty of amity, commerce, and alliance, recently concluded with America; in consequence of which offensive communication, his majesty had sent orders to his ambassador to withdraw from that court; and relying on the zealous support of his people, he was prepared to exert all the force and resources of his kingdom, to repel so unprovoked and so unjust an aggression."

On the 7th April the duke of Richmond, in moving an address to the throne, expressed his conviction of the necessity of acknowledging the American independence. The discussion being adjourned until the next day, lord Chatham appeared for the last time in

his place in parliament, and was supported to his seat by his son Mr William Pitt, and his son-in-law lord Mahon. On rising to speak, he began by lamenting that his bodily infirmities had so long, and especially at so important a crisis, prevented his attendance on the duties of parliament. He declared that he had made an effort, almost beyond the powers of his constitution, to come down to the house on this day (perhaps the last time he should ever be able to enter its walls) to express the indignation he felt at an idea which he understood was gone forth, of yielding up the sovereignty of America!

"My lords, I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me; that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy. Pressed down as I am by the load of infirmity, I am little able to assist my country in this most perilous conjuncture; but, my lords, while I have sense and memory, I will never consent to deprive the royal offspring of the house of Brunswick, the heirs of the princess Sophia, of their fairest inheritance. Where is the man that will dare to advise such a measure? My lords, his majesty succeeded to an empire as great in extent as its reputation was unsullied. Shall we tarnish the lustre of this nation, by an ignominious surrender of its rights and fairest possessions? Shall this great kingdom, that has survived, whole and entire, the Danish depredations, the Scottish inroads, and the Norman conquest—that has stood the threatened invasion of the Spanish Armada—now fall prostrate before the house of Bourbon? Surely, my lords, this nation is no longer what it was. Shall people who, seventeen years ago, were the terror of the world, now stoop so low as to tell their ancient and inveterate enemy, 'Take all that we have, only give us peace?' It is impossible!

"I wage war with no man, or set of men. I wish for none of their employments; nor would I co-operate with men who still persist in unretracted error, or who, instead of acting on a firm decisive line of

conduct, halt between two opinions, where there is no middle path. In God's name, if it be absolutely necessary to declare either for peace or war, and the former cannot be preserved with honour, why is not the latter commenced without hesitation? I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom; but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights, though I know them not. But, my lords, any state is better than despair. Let us at least make one effort; and if we must fall, let us fall like men!"

After the defeat and surrender of Burgoyne, the main body of the British troops took up their quarters in Philadelphia, and the Americans in Valley Forge.

The treaties of alliance between America and France were published at Philadelphia in May, and caused great public rejoicings. Sir William Howe returned to England, and sir Henry Clinton took the command of the British army.

The commissioners arrived soon after from England with concessions, which however came too late to be accepted. The British troops removed to New York, and on the way were much harassed and distressed by detachments from the Americans, and the advanced corps under general Lee, who had recently been exchanged. At last they reached Sandy Hook on the 10th of June, whither lord Howe had repaired with his fleet from the Delaware. At the latter place a combined French and American force were, according to a plan furnished by Franklin, to have attempted to surprise his lordship; and the count d'Estaing was placed in command of eleven ships of the line, six frigates, and a considerable number of troops, for that purpose. He sailed from Toulon, 18th April 1778; adverse winds however protracted the voyage; and on arriving at the Delaware, he found his whole plan disconcerted. He now therefore sailed to Rhode Island, intending to attack the British fleet on its coming out of harbour. Lord Howe followed, and made several efforts to bring the French to action;

but the fleets were parted by a storm. The French admiral now took refuge in the bay of Boston, and on the whole much disappointed the Americans by his conduct at this season. The day he sailed from Newport harbour, the American Sullivan had landed on Rhode Island, and began an attack on the British works ; but the departure of the French, and the appearance of the British fleet, disconcerted his plan, and he found it necessary to retreat. Lord Howe, finding the French protected by strong land batteries in Boston, now retired in his turn to Rhode Island, and shortly afterwards at New York resigned his command. The only thing the French accomplished this year in favour of America, was the capture of the island of Dominica.

About this time the American royalists, and some Indians under the command of colonel Butler, appeared upon the Susquehannah, attacked Wyoming, took the garrison of the principal fort, and committed the most shocking cruelties throughout all the settlement. The provincials, on the other hand, invaded the Canadian territories on the Mississippi, and exacted from the people oaths of allegiance to the United States.

Colonel Campbell, in the close of the year, detached with a force by sir Henry Clinton, invaded the province of Georgia, defeated the Americans, took Savannah, with the fort, garrison, town, and shipping, and reduced finally the whole province, while the American general withdrew into South Carolina.

The war was attended in the year 1779 with no very remarkable occurrences. The arrival of the count d'Estaing on the coast of Georgia is the most worthy of observation. He took St Vincent, Granada, and Rhode Island, and attempted Savannah, but was repulsed with loss. He then repaired with part of his ships to France, and sent the remainder to the West Indies.

In addition to fleets and armies, France liberally supplied both stores and money to the Ameri-

can cause, by which means Dr Franklin was empowered to uphold the credit of the new republic in Europe, to provide assistance for American prisoners in England, &c.

In the year 1778, our plenipotentiary also endeavoured to complete an alliance between the United States and Spain; for which especial purpose Mr Jay was sent to him by Congress as a colleague; and lord North had the mortification, in the close of the ensuing session of parliament, to apprise the house of intended hostilities from that quarter.

Dr Franklin, during the whole of his residence in Paris, was considered as amongst the most important personages of the court. When the emperor Joseph II, brother to the queen, arrived in that capital on a visit to his sister, he endeavoured, through the abbé Niccoli, to obtain an interview with Dr Franklin which should appear accidental. An appointment was accordingly made at the abbé's house; but the affair, it is supposed, becoming known, numbers of other persons continued to call on that minister at the same time, which prevented the emperor's attendance; he afterwards went, understanding they were gone; but Franklin was then gone also.

His station at this time had also its difficulties. Mr Silas Deane had been for some time recalled by Congress, for having made improper contracts with officers and others desirous of serving in the American army; and Franklin had numerous applications of the same kind. He declares that such applications were multiplied to his perpetual torment; every post brought him numerous written solicitations, and every day numerous visitants; so that his general wish to oblige was put severely to the test, and his ingenuity frequently taxed to dispose of them. "If I could gratify all," he says, "or even the most of them, it would be a pleasure; but," he adds, "you can have no conception how I am harassed. All my friends are sought out, and teased to tease me. Officers of all ranks, in all

departments, ladies great and small, besides professed visitors, weary me from morning till night. If therefore you have the least remaining kindness for me, my dear friend, let this your twenty-third application be your last."

"No person however," as Dr Stuber says, "could have been found so capable of rendering effective service to the United States at the court of France as Dr Franklin. He was well known as a philosopher; and he never wholly discontinued either his experiments, or his correspondence upon philosophical subjects. His character was held in the highest estimation, and his enemies could not prevail upon him to forfeit it. He was received with the greatest marks of respect by the literary characters; and this respect was extended amongst all classes of men. His personal influence was hence very considerable. To the effects of this were added those of various performances which he published, tending to establish the credit and character of the United States. To his exertions in this way may in no small degree be ascribed the success of the loans negotiated in Holland and France, which greatly contributed to bringing the war to a happy conclusion."

One ingenious piece of this kind is entitled, "Comparison of Great Britain and America as to credit in 1777," and opens with these observations:—"In borrowing money, a man's credit depends on some or all of the following particulars:—

"First, his known conduct respecting former loans, and his punctuality in discharging them.

"Secondly, his industry.

"Thirdly, his frugality.

"Fourthly, the amount and the certainty of his income, and the freedom of his estate from the incumbrances of prior debts.

"Fifthly, his well-founded prospects of greater future ability, by the improvement of his estate in value, and by aids from others.

"Sixthly, his known prudence in managing his general affairs, and the advantage they will probably receive from the loan which he desires.

"Seventhly, his known probity, and honest character, manifested by his voluntary discharge of debts which he could not have been legally compelled to pay. The circumstances which give credit to an *individual* ought to have, and will have, their weight upon the lenders of money to *public bodies* or nations. If then we consider and compare Britain and America, in these several particulars, upon the question, 'To which is it safest to lend money?' " &c.

He then discusses the facts relating to the credit of the two countries, under these heads. Respecting frugality he says smartly—"A British minister lately computed, that the whole expense of the Americans, in their civil government over three millions of people amounted to but 70,000*l.* sterling, and drew from thence a conclusion, that they ought to be taxed until their expense was equal in proportion to that which it costs Britain to govern eight millions. He had no idea of a contrary conclusion, that if three millions may be well governed for 70,000*l.* eight millions may be as well governed for three times that sum, and that therefore the expense of his own government should be diminished. In that corrupted nation no man is ashamed of being concerned in lucrative *government jobs*, in which the public money is egregiously misapplied and squandered, the treasury pillaged, and more numerous and heavy taxes accumulated, to the great oppression of the people. But the prospect of a greater number of such jobs by a war is an inducement with many to cry out for war upon all occasions, and to oppose every proposition of peace. Hence the constant increase of the national debt, and the absolute improbability of its ever being discharged."

We now resume our sketch of American operations. In the summer of 1780, the combined fleets of France and Spain fell in with a fleet of English merchant-

ships, and carried five East Indiamen, and fifty West Indiamen, into the port of Cadiz. These vessels, besides trading commodities, had on board arms, artillery, military stores, and soldiers. A great part of a fleet bound for Quebec was also taken by American privateers on the banks of Newfoundland.

On the 11th of July, a French squadron landed six thousand troops at Rhode Island, which joined the provincial army, but acted under the command of the French count, Rochambeau. At Camden however, on the 15th of August, lord Cornwallis attacked and dispersed a force under general Gates, of nearly two thousand men; colonel Tarleton also surprised the Americans at Catawba, and routed them with considerable loss. On the other hand, colonel Ferguson, who had been despatched by lord Cornwallis, to infest the borders of North Carolina, was killed, one hundred and fifty of his men left dead upon the field, and eight hundred taken prisoners.

But the sensation produced by these operations was trivial in comparison with another military event which occurred in the close of this year, and which Dr Franklin, with every other American patriot, felt deeply. Major-general Arnold, who was not exceeded in courage or ability by any officer in the American service, disgraced himself at this time by an act of deliberate treachery, unparalleled in the history of modern warfare. Being in command at West Point, he entered into negotiation with general Clinton, to deliver up that important post, with the troops under his command, to the British army situated on the north of the Hudson River. This point commanded the communication between the western and southern states, and would, in the hands of the British, have enabled them, in conjunction with Rodney's fleet, to turn their whole force against the French fleet at Rhode Island. This important scheme was conducted and foiled in the following manner. Sir Henry Clinton having selected major André, his ad-

jutant-general, for the purpose of negotiating with Arnold, that officer was landed from a British sloop of war, in the night of the 21st of September, close by the American camp, through which he was conducted by Arnold in person, and remained there in concealment all the next day. General Arnold, having furnished him with exact returns of the troops and ordnance, now assisted to disguise him as a peasant, provided him with a horse and passport, and sent him through a remote part of the camp, to explore his way back to New York by land. He passed the out-posts of the American army in safety; but when the morning appeared, three young volunteers, who were making their way thither, examined his passport, and being suspicious with regard to its regularity, determined upon leading him to head-quarters, especially when he unwisely confirmed these suspicions by offering them a large sum of money to let him pass unmolested. Here the papers found upon him in Arnold's hand-writing (containing the latest information of what had passed in the American councils of war) decided the character of his enterprise; which however he managed to deny or disguise, until Arnold knew the fact of his being taken, and had time to escape. The melancholy fate of André is well known: general Washington, assisted by the more experienced French generals, adjudged him by a court-martial to suffer death as a spy; while such are the different interpretations of the law of honour in military matters, that the British government erected a monument to his memory in Westminster abbey; and Arnold was rewarded with the commission of a brigadier-general, a considerable sum of money*, and an annuity of £500 a year, settled upon his wife and children. It needs only to be added here, that Arnold seems to have been a man of expensive habits, that he had been accused of

* The American cruisers captured a vessel containing a copy of Arnold's letter to an agent in England, by which it appears that the purchase-money of this unquestionable traitor was 5000*l*.

extortion and peculation some time before, and had even been reprimanded by a court-martial. Resentment therefore against the Republican authorities seems to have rankled in his breast; and Washington was clearly misled by his admiration of military talent, when he imprudently placed such a man in so important a command.

CHAP. XI.

Franklin desirous of returning home.—His application for recall refused.—Attempts of Great Britain to ascertain his ideas of a peace.—Anxious to detach America from France.—Then to qualify her acknowledged independence.—Year 1781 decides the war in favour of America.—Lord Cornwallis's campaign.—Washington's manoeuvre.—Succeeds in surrounding and capturing the British Army.—Franklin indefatigable in asserting his country's cause at Paris.—Publishes a supplement to the Boston Gazette.—Defence of Paul Jones, &c.—British house of Commons resolve to discontinue the war.—Commission of Franklin and his colleagues to treat for peace.—Mr Jones arrives at Paris.—His ingenious proposition.—Great Britain opens negotiations with Mr Adams and Dr Franklin.—Mr Oswald's mission.—Mr Gurvelin.—Mr Oswald's second mission and full power.—Preliminaries of peace signed between the United States and Great Britain.

FRANKLIN about this time felt a great desire to return to America; he had completely established a firm and most important friendship between the court of France and the United States, and applied to Congress to appoint his successor. The trade of a minister had pretty well tired him out, and he wished for a little repose, he said, "before he went to sleep for good and all." That "peace seeming at a greater distance to him than the end of his days, he grew impatient; but that yet he would not quit the service of his country, if he did not sincerely believe she would easily find an abler man." He therefore, in his letter of March 12, 1781, applied to the president of the Congress for a recall; but this, in the present state of their affairs, they very wisely declined giving, and assured him respectfully, that when peace should be made, if he persisted in the same request, it should be complied with.

We therefore find him again applying himself to the duties of his embassy, and ought here perhaps to notice, that from the early part of the year 1778, the British government had by various methods endeavoured to ascertain his views upon the subject of peace. Mr Hutton, secretary to the Moravian society, an

old friend of Franklin in England, was one of the agents in these attempts. Mr Hartley, William Pulteney, esq., and William Alexander, esq., were others. Much as his efforts and influence while in England had been contemned, it was clearly upon the personal character and good disposition of Franklin toward peace, that the British ministry depended, and that at last, in fact, a party of amiable private gentlemen conciliated the interests of Europe and America, and terminated a warfare which had involved the greater part of the civilized world.

Great Britain in the first instance was very anxious to detach America from her alliance with France; but the American plenipotentiaries were equally, and very properly, firm in abiding by that alliance. America, Franklin said, had been treated in France with a cordiality, respect, and affection, which she had never experienced in England, when she had most desired it. That she had been forced and driven into the arms of France. "She was a dutiful and virtuous daughter," said he to his friend Hartley; "a cruel mother-in-law turned her out of doors, defamed her, and sought her life: all the world knows her innocence and takes her part, and her friends hope soon to see her honourably married: (the treaties of commerce and alliance with France were not at this time publicly known:) they can never persuade her return and submission to so barbarous an enemy. In her future prosperity if she forget and forgive, it will be all that can be reasonably expected of her."

At subsequent periods England earnestly sought for peace on any terms short of a full acknowledgment of American independence. One of lord Chatham's latest plans as a statesman was of this description. When he last appeared in the house of Lords, his brother lord Temple said to him, "You have forgotten to mention what we have been talking about. Shall I get up?" Lord Chatham replied, "No no, I will do it by-and-by." The conversation alluded to, respected a two-fold plan for the recovery of America, the first.

part of which was, to renew the former bold efforts of Great Britain against France, and to endeavour to make an impression upon her on the continent of Europe ; the other was to form a treaty of union with the Americans, that America should make peace and war in concert with Great Britain, hoist the British flag, and use the king's name in all her courts of justice.

George III, on the death of lord Rockingham, is said to have declared to lord Shelbourne, that " never but with his crown and life would he totally relinquish the sovereignty of America."

These plans and protestations however only availed to retard the negotiation, which every year and every month seemed to be likely to bring better terms for America.

We may now therefore advert to other alliances which America was successful in forming, and to the remaining events of the war. In September, 1780, the hostile feelings of the states of Holland towards Great Britain were developed by a singular circumstance. The American packet, *Mercury*, having been captured by a British frigate, Mr Laurens, late president of the American Congress, was found on board ; and his papers, which had been thrown into the sea, but dexterously regained, disclosed the sketch of a treaty of amity and commerce between the States-General and the American provinces. The ex-president was brought to England on the 6th Oct., and committed to close confinement in the Tower under a charge of high treason. On his examination he declined answering questions ; but his papers furnished sufficient information of the projected treaty which he was bringing to a conclusion with M. Van Berkel, the grand pensionary ; and sir Joseph Yorke, the British ambassador at the Hague, was instructed to lay them before the States-General, with a strong memorial respecting such a correspondence being carried on with his majesty's rebellious subjects. To this no answer was immediately given ; but a counter-remonstrance

was made by the Dutch minister in London, respecting some violence said to have been committed in the Dutch West India Islands. On a second memorial being slighted, sir Joseph Yorke was in December ordered to withdraw from the Hague, and war was declared against Holland. Thus was Great Britain, without any foreign alliance, with a divided ministry and a discontented people, involved in war not only with America, but with almost the whole civilized world. She was indeed "the devoted deer" of the poet,

"Beset with every ill but that of fear."

The year 1781 was the decisive one of the American contest. It opened with favourable prospects to the British arms. Lord Cornwallis, being reinforced with two thousand six hundred men from England, had completely reduced South Carolina, and entertained the hope of effectually co-operating with sir Henry Clinton in the north, so that he should be able to traverse the interjacent provinces, and penetrate into Virginia. Much was expected by him, at this time, from what he thought the reviving spirit of loyalty in the Carolinas, and what he heard from the traitor Arnold of the weakness and disaffection of the troops under Washington. His lordship accordingly, in the month of January, moved forward to the borders, between the rivers Broad and Catawba. Colonel Morgan advanced up the river Pacolet, and general Tarleton was directed to attack the American general Morgan as early as possible. The latter, after retreating as far as the banks of the Broad river, took up his stand for an engagement on the 18th January. On the first charge he threw the forces of Tarleton into complete disorder, and defeated them, with great loss to the British. Upon this, lord Cornwallis despatched part of his army on a fruitless expedition to intercept Morgan; but disappointed in overtaking him, he concentrated his force, and pursued general Green, who had succeeded general Gates in

the American service. The latter retreating, a toilsome march ensued, which brought both armies to the neighbourhood of Guilford in North Carolina. Here, on the 15th March, the force under general Green suddenly appeared before Cornwallis, drawn up in order of battle. Its numbers much exceeded his own; but after a long and obstinate contest, the British were victorious; and upon this isolated fact of a present victory the British ministers constructed the king's speech of the year, holding out the most flattering prospects.

The victors however had to boast of no permanent triumph. The battle cost lord Cornwallis nearly one-third of his fatigued troops, and the remainder were compelled immediately to withdraw from the scene of action to Wilmington, leaving the wounded on the field to the care of the enemy. This long and disastrous march through woods and morasses, in a wild, inhospitable, and hostile country, occupied him until the 7th April, and deprived him of an equal number with the battle.

From this place his lordship, pursuing the original plan of the campaign, marched with his main force into Virginia, leaving lord Rawdon alone in Carolina to watch the motions of general Green; when so ill contrived were the British movements, that the offers of a body of American loyalists to join the army could not be received, as the British general had no means of equipping or maintaining them. In an action however at Hobkirk's Hill, lord Rawdon fully maintained the character of his country's troops for gallantry; Green was posted in an advantageous position with two thousand men, whom his lordship attacked with about half that number, and killed or dispersed five hundred of the enemy. Had he been supported, the most important results might have ensued; but his little band was reduced to eight hundred, and the Americans were daily increasing. Ill health in the autumn of this year compelled lord Rawdon to retire from the command; and Green on

the 8th September attacked colonel Stuart, his successor, and drove the British forces into Charleston.

Cornwallis in the mean time had proceeded northward with little or no opposition, destroying all the stores and military resources of the Americans in his way, as far as Petersburg in Virginia. At Halifax he defeated a small force of the Americans, and found on the 20th May a reinforcement of eighteen hundred men, which had been despatched from headquarters by sir Henry Clinton. No considerable force now remained for him to encounter in Virginia, but that under the marquis La Fayette; and lord Cornwallis therefore expressed in his despatches the most confident hopes of quickly recovering the province.

But the military genius of Washington was meditating a plan before which the ablest British commanders were destined to bow. Aware of their designs, and that general Clinton had intercepted many of the American despatches, he contrived to send letters in various directions, stating his design of immediately attacking New York, and that in his opinion the only way to save Virginia was, to concentrate the troops of America and France in an effort upon these head-quarters of the enemy. Having contrived that these letters should fall into the hands of the British, he still farther diverted their attention from his real plan, by affecting to reconnoitre the island of New York, taking plans of their works in company with his officers, and attended by engineers, even under the occasional fire of the enemy.

That real and masterly plan was, to form a junction by forced marches with La Fayette; and while general Clinton was preparing to receive him at New York, to overwhelm lord Cornwallis in Virginia; especially as he could now rely upon the French fleet under de Grasse acting in concert with him. The latter indeed arrived first at the scene of action. Washington, having led his enemy into utter misconception of his intentions, commenced his march to-

ward the south on the 19th of August; and forming his junction with the French, as designed, he in the following month, with an army of twenty-one thousand men, surrounded lord Cornwallis in York-town, whose force did not exceed six thousand. We give the result in the words of an intelligent historian of the reign of George III:—

“Conceiving it impossible that sir Henry Clinton could be so completely outwitted as he evidently was, lord Cornwallis expected speedy succours, and made the most vigorous dispositions for defending himself till they should arrive; he contracted his posts, and concentrated his means of defence; while the enemy instantaneously occupied those posts which the British general had abandoned. The trenches were opened by both armies in the night between the 6th and 7th of October; the batteries were covered with little less than a hundred and sixty pieces of heavy ordnance; and their attacks were carried on with the utmost energy. In a few days most of the British guns were silenced, and the defence rendered hopeless. An express however having arrived from New York, informing lord Cornwallis that he might rely on receiving immediate succours, he strenuously persevered in his resistance. Two redoubts on the left of the British greatly impeded the progress of the siege. The second parallel of the enemy now being finished, they resolved to open their batteries on those works on the 14th of October. The British forces employed every effort to defend the fortifications, but were overborne by the immense superiority of the hostile numbers. Lord Cornwallis saw that it would be impossible to withstand a general assault, for which the enemy was now prepared; and finding no succours likely to arrive, and himself surrounded on every side, he conceived a design of forcing his way through a part of the enemy, and making his escape; but on mature deliberation, he found it would be impossible to effect it. Thus hemmed in by a very superior army, through no rashness of his own, but by

the skilful and vigorous execution of the concerted plan, this brave general had no alternative but either to sacrifice his gallant army without answering any purpose, or to surrender. On the latter of these he at last resolved, and on the 19th of October surrendered by an honourable capitulation. The army, consisting of between five and six thousand men, capitulated to general Washington; but such was the number of sick and wounded, that there were only three thousand eight hundred capable of bearing arms. The vessels in the harbour surrendered to count de Grasse. At length sir Henry Clinton set out from New York, to attempt to relieve lord Cornwallis. Two months after the departure of Washington, Rochambeau had left him at liberty to proceed to the relief of the distressed army. He brought with him seven thousand land forces, with a fleet which, now reinforced by admiral Digby, consisted of twenty-five ships of the line. He had previously informed lord Cornwallis, that the fleet might be expected to sail from New York on or about the 5th October; and afterwards, from the assurances given him by the admiral, that it might pass the bar by the 12th October, wind and weather permitting. Yet the fleet did not finally leave Sandy Hook till the 19th, the day on which lord Cornwallis surrendered. The troops were embarked, and the fleet put to sea; and it was with extreme mortification that, when it arrived off the coast of Virginia on the 24th of the month, they received such accounts of the unfortunate army as led them to believe that their fate was decided. They however lingered off the mouth of the Chesapeake, until the fact was placed beyond all dispute; and as the relief of lord Cornwallis and his army had been the sole object of the expedition, the admiral resolved to return to New York. The last letter written by lord Cornwallis to the commander-in-chief, acquainting him with the surrender of the forts York and Gloucester, and relating the causes that led to that event, with the motives which had

influenced his own conduct, produced a difference between them, which terminated in an appeal to the public.

"Such was the fate of the gallant southern army and its brave commander, from whose skilful enterprise and well-earned reputation the most sanguine hopes were entertained, that the most valuable of the colonies would be recovered, and that the war with them would be brought to a successful termination. The experience which he had derived during his residence there, fully satisfied him that the information on which the minister and his adherent relied, respecting the friendly disposition of the Americans towards this country, was utterly unfounded; that every attempt to recover the country through the Americans themselves was chimerical, as much as every idea of reducing it by force. He was now convinced that the plan had been concerted upon mistaken principles, and he had himself fatally learned, that though he and the troops under his command had done their utmost, there was almost an equal deficiency of support and co-operation for its execution. The surrender at Yorktown was the concluding scene of offensive war with America. All the profuse expenditure of British wealth, all the mighty efforts of British power, all the splendid achievements of British valour, though guided by British talents and skill, proved ineffectual: the momentous exertions of a war so wasteful of blood and treasure were for ever lost."

Dr Franklin, still in Paris, was not inattentive to the necessity of keeping alive the public mind in Europe to the injuries of America. Recollecting the success of his "Prussian Edict," he printed, at a private press of his own, a fictitious "Supplement to the Boston Independent Chronicle." This purported to contain a letter, dated Albany, March 7th, from a captain Gerrish, of the New England militia, which described eight large packages of SCALPS, said to have been intercepted by him in their passage from the Indian allies of Great Britain to that country. No. 1 contained forty-three scalps of American soldiers killed

in different battles, and sixty-two of farmers killed in their own houses. Nos. 2, 3, and 4, contained two hundred and ninety-seven scalps of farmers killed under various circumstances, and appearing by the hair to have been in the prime of life, there being but sixty-seven grey heads among them; Nos. 5, 6, and 7, scalps of women, boys and girls: No. 8, those of infants:—our author adorning the story of their several deaths with circumstances of horror, said to be designated by the various Indian marks upon them.

He also published, about this time, a popular defence of the proceedings of the celebrated Paul Jones, who had been described by sir Joseph Yorke to the States-General as a pirate of Scotland and a rebel-subject. This adventurer, holding a commodore's commission from the Congress, had been of essential service to America, in the extensive depredations he committed upon British commerce, and his occasional descents upon the coasts of England.

The negotiations had proceeded tardily, as we have seen, to the close of the year 1781. Great Britain, at the commencement of 1782, endeavoured to engage America in a separate treaty of peace; but to this Dr Franklin and his colleagues steadily objected; and here the whole business might have been for years suspended, but for a resolution carried by Opposition in the house of Commons—that the further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America was fatal to the interests of Great Britain:—a resolution accelerated doubtless by the late successes of the Americans. On March 4th, in reply to a favourable answer from his majesty, the house declared it would consider as enemies to his majesty and the country all who should attempt to advise the reducing of the revolted colonies to obedience by force. A fortnight afterwards, lord North declared in parliament that his administration was at an end.

Although the American plenipotentiaries in France were both jealous of the sincerity of a higher power,

that of ministers in Great Britain, events tending towards peace were now succeeding each other rapidly. The British ministers inquired, through Mr R. Penn, whether any person or persons in Europe were commissioned by Congress to treat of peace, whether they would receive an appointed commissioner for that purpose, and mention a place for meeting, &c. This application was forwarded by Mr Penn to J. Adams, esq., the American minister at the Hague, who referred the inquirer to Dr Franklin. Adams however had the true spirit of a British negotiator in him, when he said to Franklin, speaking of this application, "The only use of all this, I think, is to strike decisive strokes at New York and Charleston. There is no position so advantageous for negotiation, as when we have all our enemy's army prisoners."

The same year, in the month of June, Mr Jones, afterwards the celebrated sir William Jones, and his friend Mr Paradise, arrived in Paris, with the purpose of proceeding to America; a journey, the object of which was said to have been on the part of the former professional, but his real motives were supposed to have been more particularly connected with the pending negotiations. Mr Jay, at least, the American minister to the court of Spain, surmised this from some observations which fell from Mr Jones, and which led him to conclude that his object was to sound important persons in or connected with America, as to the possibility of yet negotiating a peace on terms short of an absolute acknowledgment of the independence of the colonies. This conjecture was confirmed by his having put into the hands of Dr Franklin the following piece:—

"A FRAGMENT OF POLYBIUS.

"From his Treatise on the Athenian Government.

"ATHENS had long been an object of universal admiration, and consequently of envy; her navy was invincible, her commerce extensive; Europe and Asia supplied her with wealth; of her citizens all were in-

trepid, many virtuous, but some too much infected with principles unfavourable to freedom. Hence an oligarchy was in great measure established; crooked counsels were thought supreme wisdom; and the Athenians, having lost their true relish for their own freedom, began to attack that of their colonies and of the states which they had before protected! Their arrogant claims of unlimited dominion had compelled the Chians, Coans, Rhodians, and Lesbians, to join with nine other smaller communities in the social war, which they began with inconceivable ardour, and continued, surpassing all example, and almost surpassing belief. They were openly assisted by Mausolus, king of Caria, to whose metropolis the united islands had sent a philosopher named Eleuthereon, eminent for the deepest knowledge of nature, the most solid judgment, the most approved virtue, and most ardent zeal for general liberty. The war had been supported for three years with infinite exertions of valour on both sides, with deliberate firmness on the part of the allies, and with unabated violence on the part of the Athenians, who had nevertheless despatched commissioners to Rhodes with intent to propose terms of accommodation; but the states (perhaps too pertinaciously) refused to hear any proposal whatever, without a previous recognition of their total independence by the magistrates and people of *ATHENS*. It was not long after this, that an Athenian, who had been a pupil of Isæus together with Demosthenes, and begun to be known in his country as a pleader of causes, was led by some affairs of his clients to the capital of Caria. He was a man unauthorized, unemployed, unconnected; independent in his circumstances as much as in his principles; admitting no governor, under providence, but the laws; and no laws but those which justice and virtue had dictated, which wisdom approved, which his country had freely enacted. He had been known at Athens to the sage Eleuthereon; and their acquaintance being renewed, he sometimes took occasion in their conversations to lament the increasing calamities of war, and to

express his eager desire of making a general peace on such terms as *would produce the greatest good from the greatest evil*; for 'this,' said he, 'would be a work not unworthy of the divine attributes; and if mortals could effect it, they would act like those beneficent beings whom Socrates believed to be the constant friends and attendants of our species.'

"He added, 'As to the united nations, I applaud, admire, and almost envy them; I am even tempted to wish that I had been born a Chian or a Rhodian; but let them be satisfied with the prize of virtue which they have already obtained. I will yield to none of your countrymen, my friend, in my love of *liberty*; but she seems more lovely to my eyes when she comes hand-in-hand with peace. From that union we can expect nothing but the highest happiness of which our nature is capable; and it is an union which nothing now obstructs but—a mere word.

" 'Let the confederates be contented with the *substance* of that *independence* which they have asserted, and the word will necessarily follow.

" 'Let them not hurt the natural, and perhaps not reprehensible, pride of *Athens*, nor demand any concession that may sink in the eyes of *Greece* a nation to whom they are and must be united in language, in blood, in manners, in interests, in principles. Glory is to a nation what reputation is to an individual; it is not an empty sound, but important and essential. It will be glorious in Athens to acknowledge her error in attempting to reduce the islands, but an acknowledgment of her inability to reduce them (if she be unable) will be too public a confession of weakness, and her rank among the states of Greece will instantly be lowered.

" 'But, whatever I might advise, if my advice had any chance of being taken, this I *know*, and positively pronounce,—that while Athens is Athens, her proud but brave citizens will never *expressly* recognize the independence of the islands; their resources are no doubt exhaustible, but will not be exhausted in this

lives of us and our children. In this resolution all parties agree: I, who am of no party, dissent from them; but what is a single voice in so vast a multitude? Yet the independence of the united states was tacitly acknowledged by the very offer of terms, and it would result in silence from the natural operation of the treaty. An express acknowledgment of it is merely *formal* with respect to the allies; but the prejudices of mankind have made it *substantial* with respect to Athens.

“Let this obstacle be removed: it is slight, but fatal; and while it lasts thousands and ten thousands will perish. In war much will always depend upon blind chance, and a storm or sudden fall of snow may frustrate all your efforts for liberty; but let commissioners from both sides meet; and the islanders, by not insisting on a *preliminary* recognition of independence, will ultimately establish it for ever.

“But *independence* is not *disunion*. Chios, Cos, Lesbos, Rhodes, are *united*, but *independent* of each other: they are connected by a common tie, but have different forms and different constitutions. They are gems of various colours, and various properties, strung in one bracelet. Such an *union* can only be made between states which, how widely soever they differ in form, agree in one common property, *freedom*. Republics may form *alliances*, but not a *federate union*, with arbitrary monarchies. Were *Athens* governed by the *will* of a monarch, she could never be co-ordinate with the free islands; for such an union would not be dissimilarity but dissonance; but she is and shall be ruled by *laws* alone, that is, by the *will of the people*, which is the *only law*. Her Archon, even when he was *perpetual*, had no essential properties of monarchy. The constitution of Athens, if we must define it, was then a *republic, with a perpetual administrator of its laws*. Between *Athens*, therefore, and the freest states in the world, an *union* may naturally be formed.

“There is a *natural* union between her and the islands, which the gods have made, and which the

powers of hell cannot dissolve. Men speaking the same idiom, educated in the same manner, perhaps in the same place; professing the same principles; sprung from the same ancestors in no very remote degree; and related to each other in a thousand modes of consanguinity, affinity, and friendship, such men (whatever they may say through a temporary resentment) can never in their hearts consider one another as *aliens*.

“Let them meet with fraternal and pacific dispositions, and let this be the *general* groundwork and plan of the treaty:—

“I. The *Carians* shall be included in the pacification, and have such advantages as will induce them to consent to the treaty rather than continue a hazardous war.

“II. The archon, senate, and magistrates of Athens shall make a complete *recognition of rights* of all the Athenian citizens of all orders whatever; and all former laws for that purpose shall be combined in one. There shall not be one slave in Attica.

“NOTE. (By making this a *preliminary*, the islanders will show their affection for the people of Athens; their friendship will be cemented and fixed on a solid basis; and *the greatest good will be extracted*, as I at first proposed, *from the greatest evil*.)

“III. There shall be a perfect *co-ordination* between Athens and the thirteen united islands, they considering her not as a *parent*, whom they must *obey*, but as an elder *sister*, whom they cannot help loving, and to whom they shall give pre-eminence of honour, and co-equality of power.

“IV. The new constitutions of the confederate islands shall remain.

“V. On every occasion requiring *acts* for the *general* good, there shall be an assembly of deputies from the senate of Athens and the congress of the islands, who shall fairly adjust the whole business, and settle the ratio of the contributions on both sides. This committee shall consist of fifty islanders and

fifty Athenians, or of a smaller number chosen by them.

“ ‘VI. If it be thought necessary and found convenient, a proportionable number of Athenian citizens shall have seats, and power of debating and voting on questions of *common* concern, in the great assembly of the islands, and a proportionable number of islanders shall sit with the like power in the assembly at Athens.

(“ ‘NOTE. This *reciprocal representation* will cement the union.)

“ ‘VII. There shall be no obligation to make war but for the common interest.

“ ‘VIII. Commerce shall flow in a free course, for the general advantage of the united powers.

“ ‘IX. An universal *amnesty* shall be proclaimed in every part of Greece and Asia.

“ ‘This,’ said the *Athenian*, ‘is a thorough sketch of a treaty founded on virtue and liberty. The idea of it still fills and expands my soul; and if it cannot be realized, I shall not think it less glorious, but shall only grieve more and more at the perverseness of mankind. May the eternal Being, whom the wise and the virtuous adore, and whose attribute it is to convert into good that evil which his unsearchable wisdom permits, inspire all ranks of men to promote either this or a similar plan! If this be impracticable, O miserable human nature! But I am fully confident that if * * * more at large * * happiness of all.’

* * * * *

“ No more is extant of this interesting piece, upon which the commentary of the sage Polybius would have been particularly valuable in these times.”

The allusions here were obvious; but whatever were the intentions of the elegant author of this production, they in no way moved our philosopher from his straight-forward course. Peace as an independent nation, in conjunction with France as an inseparable

ally, was the only object to which he would look, on the behalf of America, in negotiations of any kind with Great Britain. When Mr Jones therefore returned to England at the close of the year, he told his friends, "As to America I know not what * * * thinks, but this I know, that the sturdy Transatlantic yeomanry will neither be dragooned nor bamboozled out of their liberty." The new minister, lord Shelburne, it is not to be forgotten, was the particular friend and patron of Mr Jones at this period.

Great Britain however, we must say, seems to have evinced serious dispositions for peace in the spring of 1782. At this period Mr Oswald, a friend of lord Shelburne, was at Paris, and brought to Dr Franklin a letter from his lordship. This was merely complimentary; and all that Franklin could learn, from the conversation of this gentleman, was, that the new ministry of England sincerely wished for peace; that they considered that both France and America must have attained their objects in the war; that the independence of the United States being acknowledged, they supposed there was no other point in dispute, and that they were ready to treat of peace: intimating however, that if France should insist upon terms too humiliating for England, they had both the disposition and the means to continue the war.

Dr Franklin sent Mr Oswald a letter of introduction to M. de Vergennes, the French secretary of state for foreign affairs. The secretary took time to consider its contents; and an interview between the parties was afterwards appointed at Versailles for Wednesday, 17th April.

Here the assurances of his Britannic majesty's dispositions toward peace were received with great cordiality, and similar professions were made by the French minister on behalf of the king his master. De Vergennes observed however, that the king of France had made those engagements with his allies which would not allow him to treat without their concurrence; that the negotiations therefore must be for

a general, not a partial peace : he suggested Paris as the most convenient place at which the plenipotentiaries should assemble, the ambassadors of Spain and America being easily summoned thither ; but he said that the French king would willingly send proper envoys to any place the king of England might appoint.

The substance of this conversation Dr Franklin sent by Mr Oswald the next day to lord Shelburne, desiring no other channel of communication with the British government, and professing every wish to treat with the simplicity and good faith which his lordship had said he should ever expect from him.

Dr Franklin also intrusted to this gentleman some of his 'notes of conversation,' in which he suggested how acceptable it might be to America if Great Britain would offer Canada, her only remaining colony in North America, as a "reparation" for the towns and villages burnt by her and her Indian allies during the war.

In the mean time the British minister had liberated Mr Laurens from his parole of honour, and made arrangements to exchange as prisoners of war the Americans who had been captured ; a tacit acknowledgment of the independence of America.

Mr Oswald returned to Paris on the 4th of May, to arrange "the preliminaries of time and place" for the first treaty ; announcing that the hon. Mr Grenville would speedily follow him, to settle "a general peace."

This gentleman accordingly arrived May 8, bringing with him the following letter from Mr Fox, to whose department the business of conducting the treaty belonged :—

"To Dr FRANKLIN.

"St. James's, May 1, 1782.

SIR,—Though Mr Oswald will no doubt have informed you of the nature of Mr Grenville's commission, yet I cannot refrain from making use of the

opportunity his going offers me, to assure you of the esteem and respect which I have borne to your character, and to beg you to believe that no change in my situation has made any in those ardent wishes for reconciliation, which I have invariably felt from the beginning of this unhappy contest.

"Mr Grenville is fully acquainted with my sentiments upon this subject, and with the sanguine hopes I have conceived that those with whom we are contending are too reasonable to continue a contest which has no longer any object either real or even imaginary.

"I know your liberality of mind too well to be afraid lest any prejudices against Mr Grenville's name may prevent you from estimating those excellent qualities of heart and head which belong to him, or from giving him the fullest credit for the sincerity of his wishes for peace, in which no man in either country goes beyond him. I am with great truth and regard, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"C. J. Fox."

Dr Franklin took Mr Grenville, by appointment, to the French minister on the following morning.

Here the British negotiator intimated, that in case Great Britain acknowledged the independence of America (the original object of the war on the part of the United States and their allies) it was expected that France would restore to Great Britain the West India islands she had taken, receiving back Miquelon and St Pierre. For an answer to this proposal, M. de Vergennes referred to Franklin; who observed that he could see no necessity for bargaining for what was already in the possession of America. A little warm discussion then ensued as to the origin of the war on the part of France; and the French minister observing that Holland and Spain must be consulted and arranged with, the interview closed.

On their return to Paris, Mr Grenville expressed

himself dissatisfied with the French minister's conversation.

Dr Franklin, May 11th, entertained the marquis de la Fayette, Mr Grenville, and Mr Oswald, at Passy, when he learnt that the last gentleman, considering himself superseded, was about to return to London.

Before the end of this month, his old friend Mr Hartley enclosed a copy of "preliminaries," which in his zeal for peace he had left with lord Shelburne, and which stipulated for the immediate withdrawal of the British troops from America, as the commencement of a truce preparatory to a negotiation; but the proposal was not acted upon.

Franklin heard at this period from Mr Jay, that the court of Spain was exceedingly dilatory in the completion of the treaty upon which he had been engaged some time at Madrid; and he therefore wrote, to press his coming to Paris, where he arrived early in June.

May 26th, Mr Grenville called to acquaint Dr Franklin that he had received full powers from London to treat with France and her allies, a copy of which he had left with Monsieur de Vergennes. This gentleman also brought him the London Gazette containing admiral Rodney's account of his famous victory over De Grasse in the West Indies. Mr Grenville also informed him that he had a letter of credence to the French court, which he was not to deliver until a minister of the same kind was sent to the court of London.

A few days afterwards, Dr Franklin found that the British plenipotentiary's powers were very full with respect to treating with France, but mentioned nothing respecting her allies. "They want," said the French minister, "to treat with us for you; but this the king will not agree to, as inconsistent with your dignity. The fact is, each power must treat for itself, only we must take care that the treaties go hand in hand, and are signed together."

Dr Franklin was particularly noticed at the French

minister's this day, by prince Bariatinski, the Russian ambassador, and prince Paul of Russia, afterwards known as the emperor Paul, who was now travelling under the assumed name of the comte du Nord. In the evening an opera was given in honour of the Russian visitors ; and Franklin speaks of the splendour of this scene as being superior to that of any other that he ever witnessed.

Mr Oswald returned to Paris with the powers of Mr Grenville.

Mr Grenville came to Dr Franklin on Saturday, June 1st, by appointment, to explain the circumstance of the omission in his powers ; which, he said, he could only account for by supposing, that the last official form of a treaty with France had been copied. He had despatched a courier home, he said, to have the difficulty removed. Franklin avoided, at this interview, any close discussion as to the terms of the future treaty, though pressed a little upon that subject by the British negotiator, who, to convince him of the sincerity of Great Britain, told him in confidence, that he was instructed to acknowledge the independence of America, if necessary, prior to the commencement of any formal treaty.

Mr Oswald, on the 3rd, is said to have told Dr Franklin, that Great Britain was so completely reduced in her resources, as to meditate, if the war must be continued, *stopping payment* of the interest on all sums above 1000*l.* due to the fundholders. He further added, Dr Franklin tells us, that her enemies had the ball at their foot ; that their best hope was in himself, Dr F. ; and that they trusted to his known moderation and magnanimity. Poor Great Britain—if this man's conduct and concessions were the issue of thy public councils !

Mr Oswald also observed to our envoy, that he had assured the British ministry that nothing was to be expected from Dr Franklin inconsistent with his duty to America ; which made the latter suppose, that something of the kind had been agitated among them. Dr Franklin also now learned, that an act to enable his

Britannic majesty to conclude a peace with America, was passing the British parliament; and conceived that such an act being thought necessary was the true reason why Mr Grenville's powers had not been more explicit.

Our plenipotentiary, indeed, felt himself now a little strangely situated with regard to the *two* British negotiators. Lord Shelburne seemed to have commissioned his friend Mr Oswald; while Mr Grenville was more immediately the representative of Mr Fox. He considered that, since the victory of Rodney, there was probably a desire on the part of Great Britain to prolong the negotiations, so as to take the chance of another campaign. But in the interim, Spain, according to Mr Jay's account, had been much quickened in her movements toward a treaty by the resolution of the British parliament to discontinue the war. Franklin therefore, and Mr Jay, were very cordially received by the Spanish ambassador at Paris, who said he had instructions from his court to close the treaty with all possible dispatch. The ambassador from Sweden also proffered to the United States, through Dr Franklin, a treaty of amity and commerce.*

On the 15th of June, Mr Grenville again went to Versailles with a power to treat with the king of France or his ministers, *and any other prince or state whom it may concern*. These words would have satisfied the French court that America was included; but Franklin, observing that the enabling bill was not passed, insisted that Great Britain had never regarded America as a state, and therefore that the powers of her plenipotentiary were still incomplete.

Thus affairs rested until another change took place in the British ministry, on the death of lord Rockingham. Mr Fox then vacated his secretaryship, lord Shelburne was appointed first lord of the treasury, and Mr Grenville returned home.

July 26th, lord Grantham wrote a letter to Dr Franklin, introducing Mr Fitzherbert (afterwards

* This was finally concluded April 3rd, 1783; Dr Franklin and the count de Krutz being the respective plenipotentiaries.

lord St Helens) to his acquaintance, with a commission to treat, in Mr Grenville's place, with France, Spain, and Holland; but it was not till the beginning of September that Mr Oswald inclosed to the American plenipotentiaries his express instructions to acknowledge the full, complete, and unconditional, independence of the thirteen United States. At the close of this month arrived also in Paris an ample commission for that gentleman to proceed in the work of peace; Franklin having objected, that in a former one the mention of these states by their public name had been avoided.

In November, an under-secretary of state, Mr Strachey, came over with some particulars for Mr Oswald; and having formerly been acquainted with Dr Franklin, pressed upon the consideration of him and his colleagues the propriety of indemnifying the American loyalists. The American plenipotentiaries paid some attention to this subject; but Franklin continually urged, that as the present ministry had always acknowledged the war to be *unjust*, it was not for them or their allies to expect compensation, but rather to give it. On the matter being pushed, he at last offered to enter upon a conditional bargain of this kind,—that an estimate should be taken of the damage done by the troops of Great Britain and the Indians to private property in America, which should be stated in account against the losses of the loyalists; and that when commissioners should ascertain on which side the balance lay, it should be paid by either party accordingly. He therefore sent home to set an inquiry of this kind on foot, but expressed so strong an opinion to Mr Oswald upon the general odiousness of the subject, that all mention of these claims was agreed to be dropped on both sides. Dr Franklin, November 29th 1782, had the satisfaction of inclosing to the French minister the preliminary articles of peace between the United States and Great Britain; a copy of which important document we give entire in the Appendix.*

* Vide No. 5.

CHAPTER XII.

The French ministry remonstrate with the American plenipotentiaries.—Cessation of hostilities on the part of Great Britain.—American Declaration.—Renewed attempts to negotiate a treaty of commerce.—They fail.—Signature of definite treaty of peace.—Franklin's philosophical engagements in Paris.—Philanthropic letters on behalf of Cook.—Bagatelles.—Animal magnetism.—His successor appointed.—Quits Fassy for Havre.—Crosses the Channel for Southampton.—Embarks for America.—Received with great respect.—Washington.

It is remarkable that, though the French ministry well knew that the American plenipotentiaries were in serious discussion with the British commissioner upon the subject of these articles, their actual signature took place, after all, without any previous consultation with the French court; a mode of conduct, in which the American plenipotentiaries departed at once from their instructions and the just expectations of their powerful ally. The count de Vergennes therefore remonstrated in these terms:—

“ Je suis assez embarrassé, monsieur, à expliquer votre conduite et celui de vos collègues à notre égard. Vous avez arrêté vos articles préliminaires sans nous en faire part, quoique les instructions du Congrès vous prescrissent de ne rien faire sans la participation du roi. Vous allez faire luire un espoir certain de paix en Amérique, sans même vous informer de l'état de notre négociation. Vous êtes sage et avisé. Monsieur, vous connoissez les bienséances : vous avez rempli toute votre vie vos devoirs. Croyez-vous satisfaire à ceux qui vous tiennent au roi ? Je ne veux pas porter plus loin ces réflexions : je les abandonne à votre honnêteté. Quand vous aurez bien voulu satisfaire à mes doutes, je prierai le Roi de me mettre en état de répondre à vos demandes.”

[Translation.]

“ I am quite at a loss, sir, to explain your conduct, and that of your colleagues, in reference to us. You

have settled your preliminary articles independently of us, although your instructions from Congress were, to do nothing without the concurrence of the king. You proceed to make sure a peace on the part of America, without informing yourselves of the state of our negotiation. You are wise and cautious. Monsieur, you know the *bienséances* (courtesies required :) you have all your life performed them. Do you think to satisfy those who represent you to the king? I shall not proceed further with these reflections, but leave you to your own sense of honour. And when you shall have perfectly satisfied my doubts, I will solicit the king to empower me to answer your inquiries."

Franklin adroitly replied, that nothing contrary to the interests of France had been inserted in the preliminaries, and that no actual peace could take place between the United States and Great Britain, until the latter had arranged with France, though the French minister's observation was apparently just, that in not consulting him before they had signed, the American ministers had been guilty of neglecting a point of *bienséance*.

But the true reason of this promptitude was more creditable to the talents than the candour of the American plenipotentiaries. They had received an intimation, which they could not doubt, of the disposition of France to interfere with the American fisheries. This was furnished by a letter from the secretary of the French embassy at Philadelphia, which the British cruizers had intercepted in its way home, and which had been forwarded by the British government to the American commissioners.

We need only notice here, that the preliminaries between Great Britain and France were settled on the 14th of December.

On the 20th January 1783, Mr Fitzherbert, the British minister more particularly engaged to negotiate with the French and Spanish kings, signed a declaration relative to a suspension of arms between

France, Spain, the United States, and Great Britain, testifying the completion of preliminaries of peace between all the powers; and the American ministers countersigned the declaration. In consequence of this, one hundred passports for British merchant-vessels were signed by them also, and one hundred sent from London to Paris for American vessels. On the 14th February a formal "Proclamation for the cessation of hostilities" was issued in London; and a similar "declaration of the cessation of arms on the part of America" was signed in Paris by the American ministers on the 20th February.

Dr Franklin, having largely, perhaps principally, contributed to this great work of an actual peace, was occupied, for nearly two succeeding years of his life, in endeavouring to perfect what he justly called a greater work—that of reconciliation between the United States and Great Britain.

Mr Fox, once more secretary of state, accredited to Paris (April 1783) in subserviency to this design, Franklin's old friend, David Hartley, esq. M.P. Many sketches and efforts were made between the plenipotentiaries to produce a commercial treaty, stipulating for fair mutual advantages; but the business proceeded very tardily, and the commercial part of it was never accomplished.

In the mean time arrived the ratification by Congress of the preliminary articles, accompanied by a letter which greatly blamed the American plenipotentiaries for their uncandid conduct, already noticed, to the French minister. Franklin said in defence, that the nomination of five persons to the service of making this treaty served to mark that Congress had some dependance on their joint judgment; for that one alone could have made a treaty by the direction of the French ministry, as well as twenty. He applied in the same despatches for the appointment of his grandson, Temple Franklin, as ambassador to Sweden or to Denmark; but no notice whatever was taken of the request by Congress.

In August, Dr Franklin informed the count de Vergennes, that the English minister did not agree to any of the late propositions made either by the American plenipotentiaries, or by their own minister Mr Hartley; but had sent over a plan for the definitive treaty of peace, which consisted merely of the preliminaries, headed by a short introductory paragraph, and concluded by a paragraph confirming and establishing them. It was finally agreed to sign this paper as the only definitive treaty which was likely at present to be agreed upon. (See Appendix, No. 6.)

But, after this, the worthy Mr Hartley urged them to renew negotiations for a commercial treaty; and Franklin and his co-adjutors received a commission from the Congress, dated May 1st, 1783, for that purpose. Mr Hartley however, in the interim, had returned to England; and the British ministry not appointing any other envoy to meet the American commissioners, the business went off; and Dr Franklin only remained in Paris, to exchange the ratification of the definitive treaties.

Other European governments however were not so tardy in courting the alliance of the United States. Dr Franklin, before he left Paris, namely, on the 9th July 1785, signed a treaty of amity and commerce between the king of Prussia and those states; a treaty in which, for the first time, was introduced a benevolent article which Dr Franklin had more than once proposed to the British government. It was to provide that, in case of future war, no unarmed citizens should be molested, and no privateering allowed. As our philosopher was very anxious to see the principle here advanced become public law, we extract this article from the Prussian treaty.

“ Article 23.

“ If war should arise between the two contracting parties, the merchants of either country then residing in the other, shall be allowed to remain nine months to collect their debts and settle their affairs, and may

depart freely, carrying off all their effects without molestation or hinderance. And all women and children, scholars of every faculty, cultivators of the earth, artisans, manufacturers, and fishermen, unarmed, and inhabiting unfortified towns, villages, and places; and in general all others whose occupations are for the common subsistence and benefit of mankind, shall be allowed to continue their respective employments, and shall not be molested in their persons; nor shall their houses or goods be burnt or otherwise destroyed, nor their fields wasted, by the armed force of the enemy, into whose power, by the events of the war, they may happen to fall: but if any thing is necessary to be taken from them for the use of such armed force, the same shall be paid for at a reasonable price. And all merchant and trading vessels employed in exchanging the products of different places, and thereby rendering the necessary conveniences and comforts of human life more easy to be obtained, and more general, shall be allowed to pass free and unmolested; and neither of the contracting powers shall grant or issue any commission to any private or armed vessels, empowering them to take or destroy such trading vessels, or interrupt such commerce."

Having now traced the important public and diplomatic occupations of Dr Franklin at Paris, we may offer a few particulars of his occasional pursuits as a philosopher.

Dr Franklin had, as early as 1772, offered a report to the Royal Society in England, on lightning conductors for the powder magazines at Purfleet; and so generally had his principles been adopted, that they had become very common both in public and private buildings. But while he was engaged in endeavouring at Paris to divert from his country the injuries of war, an ungenerous attempt was made in England to deprive him of the fair fame of this invention.

A fellow member of the Royal Society, Mr B. Wilson of London, professed to demonstrate, in certain experi-

ments at the Pantheon, that knobs were superior as conductors to points; experiments which it is said the royal family witnessed and patronised. It is certain that the *pointed* conductors were removed about this time from Buckingham house, and never afterwards replaced. Our absent philosopher however met with a spirited defender in the late lord Stanhope, then lord Mahon. The following article appeared on the subject in the London Evening Post, 16th September 1777:—

“Monday, Mr B. Wilson repeated his experiments at the Pantheon, before several fellows of the Royal Society, and other persons. Lord viscount Mahon, F.R.S., being present, had a great dispute with Mr Wilson concerning his experiments, and showed him that he was wrong in both his assertions—first, that *knobs* are better than *points*; and secondly, that *low conductors* are better than *high ones*. His lordship proved both these assertions to be false, and showed also that Mr Wilson had entirely *misunderstood*, and had consequently *misrepresented*, the philosophical opinions of Dr Franklin. Lord Mahon repeated several experiments of his own to prove his assertions; and by invariably succeeding in them, at the same time that those of Mr Wilson failed repeatedly, his lordship proved this to demonstration; and by so doing gave great satisfaction to the best-informed persons present. Mr Wilson went to the other end of the room, as if to avoid seeing lord Mahon’s experiments. He afterwards said he had *not changed his opinions*, and would publish his own hypothesis; upon which lord Mahon told Mr Wilson, in a most candid and gentlemanlike manner, that he was very sorry to be obliged to differ in opinion from him; but as the *question* about *conductors for lightning* was of so great importance to this country, and to society in general, that if Mr Wilson should *publish* an erroneous opinion upon this subject, he would also pledge himself to the public to *refute* him *in print*.”

Other members of the Royal Society took up this

business in the following month, and completely exposed what they called the charlatanism of Mr Wilson.* When Franklin heard of the king's changing his pointed conductors for blunt ones, he said—"It is a matter of small importance to me. If I had a wish about it at all, it would be that he would reject them altogether; for it is only since he thought himself and family safe from the thunder of heaven, that he dared to use his own thunder in destroying his innocent subjects." Dr Franklin considered that the interests of science were not to be overlooked amidst the din of war; when therefore he heard of the fitting out of Captain Cook's vessels for a voyage of discovery, he issued, as the American plenipotentiary in Europe, the following letter of protection for him :—

LETTER RESPECTING CAPTAIN COOK.

"To all captains and commanders of armed ships, acting by commission from the Congress of United States of America, now at war with Great Britain.

"GENTLEMEN,—A ship having been fitted out from England, before the commencement of this war, to make discoveries of new countries in unknown seas, under the conduct of that most celebrated navigator, captain Cook,—an undertaking truly laudable in itself, as the increase of geographical knowledge facilitates the communications between distant nations, in the exchange of useful products and manufactures, and the extension of arts, whereby the common enjoyments of human life are multiplied and augmented, and science of other kinds increased, to the benefit of mankind in general; this is therefore most earnestly to recommend to every one of you, that in case the said ship, which is now expected to be soon in the European seas on her return, should happen to fall into your hands, you would not consider her as an enemy, nor suffer any plunder to be made

* The royal preference of *blunt* to *pointed* conductors produced some droll allusions at the time, especially from Dr Wolcot (*Peter Pindar*).

of the effects contained in her, nor obstruct her immediate return to England, by detaining her or sending her into any other part of Europe or America ; but that you would treat the said captain Cook and his people with all civility and kindness, affording them, as common friends to mankind, all the assistance in your power which they may happen to stand in need of. In so doing, you will not only gratify the generosity of your own dispositions, but there is no doubt of your obtaining the approbation of the Congress, and your own American owners.

" I have the honour to be, gentlemen,

" Your most obedient, &c.,

" B. FRANKLIN,

" Minister plenipotentiary from the
Congress of the United States to
the court of France.

" *At Passy, near Paris, this 10th
day of March, 1779.*"

This proceeding was afterwards handsomely acknowledged by the presentation of Cook's Voyages, in 3 vols. quarto, to Dr Franklin, with a letter from lord Howe, stating that it was with the king's express approbation ; and after the peace the Royal Society voted him a gold medal in acknowledgment of his letter. Dr Franklin in the same manner protected a Moravian missionary vessel, and a vessel sent with provisions and clothing from some benevolent citizens in Dublin to the West Indies.

Dr Franklin, as the plenipotentiary of America, entered fully into all her interests ; and considering those of the Catholic clergy in America to require a proper adjustment with the pope, recommended, in July 1824, Mr John Carrol to his holiness, as a proper superior for such clergy. The court of Rome promptly met the desires of the new republic. This gentleman was appointed with the principal powers of a bishop ; and the nuncio told Dr Franklin that probably he would be made a bishop before the end of

the year. But as it was necessary he should receive consecration in that case from another bishop, a difficulty arose as to where this could conveniently take place. Quebec being mentioned, Franklin inquired whether consecration there would involve any dependence upon the consecrating bishop, which he was assured it would not, but that the American bishop, once ordained, would be independent of all other bishops, and even of the pope.

Shortly after a similar question came before our philosopher, as to the supplying a regular ordination to the Protestant episcopal clergy. Two young gentlemen went from the United States to London with a view of obtaining ordination, but complained to Franklin that the archbishop of Canterbury would not permit this, unless they took the oath of allegiance. On this our philosopher inquired whether the archbishop of Paris could not supply the necessary authority, or the new Catholic bishop in America; but found the thing was impossible, unless the young men became Catholics. He therefore wrote, advising them to apply to the bishop of Derry, who was a man of liberal sentiments, jocularly saying, "An hundred years hence, when people are more enlightened, it will be wondered at, that men in America, qualified by their learning and piety to pray for and instruct their neighbours, should not be permitted to do it till they have made a voyage of six thousand miles out, and have asked leave of a cross old gentleman at Canterbury."

Although Franklin seems to have imbibed a strong personal aversion to George III, he ever did justice to his character as a man. Wishing to illustrate to lord Fitzmaurice, lord Shelburne's son, who called upon him at Paris in 1784, the importance of a good private character to public men, he told him, that he believed if George III had had a bad private character, and the celebrated John Wilkes a good one, that the latter might at one period of the war have turned the former out of his kingdom.

In the same year, animal magnetism attracting much attention in the world, particularly at Paris, the king of France appointed commissioners to examine into the foundation of this pretended science, amongst whom he requested Dr Franklin would act. The leader in the profitable exhibitions of this science to the public, one Mesmer, had already made an immense fortune. After a fair and diligent examination, in the course of which he and his pupils repeated a number of experiments, some of which were tried upon themselves, they determined that the whole was a mere trick, and reported accordingly, to the entire destruction of the fame and hopes of this adventurer.

Human undertakings are not often accomplished so successfully as were all the ends of Dr Franklin's mission in Europe. His country had obtained the alliances and every important aid she sought in the war; she had conquered a glorious and satisfactory peace; and if her commercial relations with Europe were as yet unsettled, it was attributable in a great degree to the magnitude and novelty of her claims. She rose before the rest of the civilized world, as the great progenitor of men rose upon earth—at once mature! Well might the situation she was to occupy puzzle those who were only learned in books and precedents!

Mr Jefferson having been appointed his successor, Dr Franklin took leave of the French court by a respectful letter, and, being accommodated with the king's mules and litter, proceeded by easy stages from Passy, July 12, 1785.

At Nantes he was met by a messenger from cardinal de Rochefoucault, who invited him to stop at the palace of that prelate, at Gaillon, the next day.

At Rouen he was complimented by a deputation from the Academy; and arrived at Havre on the 18th.

From this port our philosopher, accompanied by his grandsons, crossed in the packet to Southampton, and at 7 p. m. of Saturday the 23rd, saw the land of the British Isles once more—the Isle of Wight.

He landed at Southampton next day, and found

there his son, who had arrived from London, and his friends Messrs Williams and Alexander. Dr Franklin immediately wrote a letter to acquaint his friend the bishop of St Asaph, who was in the neighbourhood, of his arrival. After dinner he had the great pleasure of embracing him and his family.

Monday the 25th, he domesticated himself with bishop Shipley at the Star inn, where, during their stay, the whole party breakfasted and dined together.

Here a variety of family and friendly business engaged Dr Franklin's attention until the 26th. His son, William Franklin, conveyed certain lands in New Jersey and New York to his grandson, Mr T. Franklin. English books poured in upon him from friends in London, among the rest Paley's *Moral Philosophy*, which was now first published.

While taking a bath here, our philosopher states that he fell asleep upon the water on his back, and remained without sinking or turning until he awoke, nearly an hour afterwards! Always fond of the water as he was, and learned in the details of swimming, this was a quiet triumph over that element which he declares he never before enjoyed, and could scarcely have thought possible.

On the 27th, he gave a power to his son to recover what was due to him from the British government, and after dinner went on board the *London Packet*, a Philadelphia vessel, with all his English friends. The captain entertained them hospitably in the evening, the company remaining on board all night; when he woke in the morning, the ship was under sail, and his friends gone!

It was during this voyage across the Atlantic, that he wrote a valuable paper, called "*Improvements in Navigation*," addressed to his friend M. Le Roy of Paris, from which we have already given an extract.

Wednesday, September 14th, he landed at Market-street wharf, Philadelphia:—received, says an historian, amidst the acclamations of an immense num-

ber of the inhabitants, who flocked from all parts in order to see him, and conducted him in triumph to his own house. In the mean time, the cannon and bells of the city announced the glad tidings to the neighbouring country; and he was waited upon by the congress, the university, and all the principle citizens, who were eager to testify their esteem and veneration for his character.

"His entry into Philadelphia," says another writer, "resembled a triumph; and he traversed the streets of that capital amidst the benedictions of a free and grateful people, who had not forgotten his services.

"The warriors who had shed their blood for an independence, ensured by means of his sagacity, were eager to exhibit to him their glorious wounds. He was surrounded by old men, who had petitioned heaven to live long enough to behold his return; and by a new generation eager to survey the features of a great man, whose talents, whose services, and whose virtues, had excited in their hearts the first raptures of enthusiasm. Having advanced from a port, henceforth open to all nations, to a city, the model of all future capitals, he beheld the public school which he had founded, in a state of splendour; and saw the hospital, the establishment of which had been one of his first services, and the increase of which was owing to his foresight, now fully commensurate to all his wishes: the latter by solacing suffering humanity; the former by aiding the progress of reason. He then turned his eyes towards the neighbouring country, embellished by liberty, in which, in the midst of public prosperity, were still to be seen some vestiges of the ravages of the English; but these only served by their contrast to endear still more the pleasures arising from peace and victory!"

Congratulatory addresses now poured in upon Dr Franklin from the Pennsylvanian assembly, the American Philosophical Society, of which he had been

annually chosen the president while abroad; the university of Pennsylvania, &c. but from no one came a more consistent or appropriate letter of welcome than compatriot general Washington, who addressed him in the following unpretending strain.

"Mount Vernon, Sept. 25th, 1785.

"DEAR SIR,—Amid the public gratulations on your safe return to America, after a long absence, and the many eminent services you have rendered it, for which, as a benefited person, I feel the obligation, permit an individual to join the public voice in expressing his sense of them, and to assure you, that as no one entertains more respect for your character, so none can salute you with more sincerity, or with greater pleasure, than I do on the occasion.

"I am, dear sir,

"Your most obedient and most humble servant,

"G. WASHINGTON.

"The Hon. Dr Franklin."

Dr Franklin had previously applied to general Washington on the subject of his bust being taken. He told him he had just arrived from a country where the reputation of general Washington ran very high, and where everybody wished to see him in person, but as they understood he was not likely to favour them with a visit, they had sent with him their principal statuary, Mr Houdon, for the purpose of taking his bust, that he was now at Philadelphia, and would wait upon the general at his convenience.

Washington replied, by enclosing the above letter, already written, and a few phrases of acknowledgment for the compliment intended.

There is a remarkable insipidity in all this great man's private compositions, although we are aware that his public papers are admired. His presence is

said to have been dignified, and he made impressions of the most important kind, both in the council and in the field, but it was never by the weight of his words.*

* The scene of his public departure from the army is described as equally tender and dignified. But this was also the eloquence of actions associated with kind remembrances rather than that of the lips. "The manly demeanour of the chief softened by sensibility. He grasped the hand of each in silence, then proceeded slowly to the place of embarkation, followed by the officers in mute procession, with dejected countenances. On entering the barge, he turned to his companions in arms, and waved his hat as a last adieu. Many answered with their tears, and all kept their eyes upon him till he was no longer distinguishable."

CHAP. XIII.

Dr Franklin chosen member of supreme council at Philadelphia; and president of the state.—Assists in the convention for the revision of the federal constitution.—His opinions respecting the apportionments of taxes; directing high officers of salaries, &c.—First speech in the convention.—Resigns the presidency, and retires from public business.—Feels himself ungratefully treated by the United States' government.—Sketch of his services.—President of various societies for the diffusion of political and scientific knowledge.—Opposes the slave-trade.—Attacked by his final illness.—Dies.—Honourable funeral.—His epitaph.—Will.—Eulogium on his character.—His writings.—His claim to the parable on persecution discussed.—Summary of his character.

DR FRANKLIN was now chosen member of the supreme executive council at Philadelphia, and a little afterwards president of the state of Pennsylvania. The latter honourable office he held for three years, the full period to which he could hold it by the constitution of the state.

While he filled the Pennsylvanian chair of government, the whole of the constitution of the United States came under revision, and Dr Franklin had the honour and happiness to shed the ripened fruits of his long experience upon the early institutions of his country. A general convention of the States of the Union were summoned to meet in Philadelphia, in the Autumn of 1787, no one taking a more active part in its debates than our enlightened sage, who was perhaps, at this time, one of the most confirmed and *truly* philosophical republicans in the world. He saw and admitted the natural inclination of mankind to monarchical institutions, yet avowed his preference in the choice of evils to "one tyrant rather than five hundred," and no man was more averse from the domination of an ignorant populace.* He ar-

* In confirmation of this he expressed in February, 1788, after the close of these debates, his decided conviction that while America was at that time much afraid of giving her governors too much authority, she was much more in danger from the little obedience of the governed.

gued that the wisest individual at the head of a government may be physically incapable of exercising it. "Who then," said he, "are to supply his place? If a council, why might they not be permanent? That one individual's government may be excellent; his successor's, even in an elective government, the reverse. One studies the arts of peace, another is ambitious of making some alterations internal or external, or of distinguishing himself in war." He seems to have seen, however, that hereditary monarchy had been historically a good practical refuge from bloody civil wars, and actually predicted in this year (1787), that the dissensions then agitating in the states of Holland would terminate, as we have seen it, in this form of government. The first of his suppositions has also since his time, we know, been singularly realized in the history of the British monarchy.

With Dr Franklin seems to have originated the idea of apportioning the direct taxes according to the population of each of the states of the union. He also suggested, that in fixing the salaries of the civil officers of the general government, and in the passing of all laws for supplying and disposing of the funds of the general treasury, each state should have suffrage in proportion to the sum it contributed to the treasury.

But Dr Franklin made one of his best public speeches, in the convention, on the subject of withholding all salaries from places of high honour and trust under the executive government. He contended that the happiness of doing good, and serving a good country, would be sufficient motives for undertaking these offices with good and proper men; that the high sheriff in England, and the counsellor, a member of the judiciary parliament in France, as well as several other most honourable offices of the magistracy, were without emolument in both countries; and that the Quakers of the union settled all the pecuniary disputes of their people without fee or reward. Amongst wise and honourable men, indeed, he apprehended that

the less the profit of such noble occupations, the greater the honour.

We cannot wonder that his motion was negatived. It was the least practical, in our judgment, of any of his public propositions. Affording no salary to any of the higher offices of state, would have rendered it a *duty* of many able professional men of small fortunes to refuse them. If such offices, besides, are to *exist* at all, they cannot be divested of the temptations of which *our* legislator was jealous. All high offices will *command* large sums of money, and large numbers of *monied* men. If the high sheriff of England obtain personally no emolument, the office of under-sheriff, who, in fact, performs all the efficient duties of his superior, is eagerly sought after upon this very principle. Franklin's own plan, therefore, would have contained the evils he opposed, with the additional one of supplying a strong temptation to hypocrisy amongst all his honest servants of the people.

After deliberation and discussion, however, *had* been fairly applied to this and other subjects of their meeting, noble efforts for unanimity appear to have been made by the assembled deputies. The following was the speech of the truly great man of whom we are writing, at the close of its deliberations.

“MR. PRESIDENT,

“I CONFESS that I do not entirely approve of this constitution* at present; but, Sir, I am not sure I shall never approve it: for, having lived long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged, by better information, or fuller consideration, to change opinions even on important subjects, which I once thought right, but found to be otherwise. It is, therefore, that the older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment, and to pay more respect to the judgment of others. Most men, indeed, as well as most sects in religion, think themselves in possession of all

* In our appendix No. 7 will be found the seven important Articles which formed the first constitution of the United States of America, and the amendments which have been since added.

truth, and that whenever others differ from them, it is so far error.—Steel, a protestant, in a dedication, tells the pope, that “the only difference between our two churches, in their opinions of the certainty of their doctrines, is, the Romish church is infallible, and the church of England never in the wrong.” But, though many private persons think almost as highly of their own infallibility as that of their sect, few express it so naturally as a certain French lady, who, in a little dispute with her sister, said, “I dont know how it happens, sister, but I meet with nobody but myself that is always in the right.” *Il n’y a que moi qui a toujours raison.* In these sentiments, Sir, I agree to this constitution, with all its faults, if they are such; because I think a general government necessary for us, and there is no form of government but what may be a blessing, if well administered; and I believe, further, that this is likely to be well administered for a course of years, and can only end in despotism, as other forms have done before it, when the people shall become so corrupted as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other. I doubt, too, whether any other convention we can obtain may be able to make a better constitution: for when you assemble a number of men, to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests, and their selfish views. From such an assembly can a perfect production be expected? It therefore astonishes me, Sir, to find this system approaching so near to perfection as it does; and I think it will astonish our enemies, who are waiting with confidence to hear that our councils are confounded, like those of the builders of Babylon, and that our States are on the point of separation, only to meet hereafter for the purpose of cutting each other’s throats.

“Thus I consent, Sir, to this constitution, because I expect no better, and because I am not sure that this is not the best. The opinions I have had of its errors

I sacrifice to the public good. I have never whispered a syllable of them abroad. Within these walls they were born, and here they shall die. If every one of us, in returning to our constituents, were to report the objections he has had to it, and endeavour to gain partisans in support of them, we might prevent its being generally received, and thereby lose all the salutary effects and great advantages resulting naturally in our favour among foreign nations, as well as among ourselves, from our real or apparent unanimity. Much of the strength and efficiency of any government, in procuring and securing happiness to the people, depends on opinion; on the general opinion of the goodness of that government, as well as of the wisdom and integrity of its governors.

"I hope, therefore, that for our own sakes, as a part of the people, and for the sake of our posterity, we shall act heartily and unanimously in recommending this constitution, wherever our influence may extend, and turn our future thoughts and endeavours to the means of having it well administered.

"On the whole, Sir, I cannot help expressing a wish, that every member of the convention, who may still have objections, would with me, on this occasion, doubt a little of his own infallibility, and, to make manifest our unanimity, put his name to this instrument."

[The motion was then made for adding the last formula, viz. "Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent," &c. which was agreed to, and added accordingly.]

In October, 1788, Dr Franklin having completed the full term of his presidency, vacated with the Pennsylvanian government, all further share in the public business of his country, and he tells his friend, the duke de la Rochefoucault, that it is now his purpose to complete his personal history. This, however, was never brought down by himself beyond his fiftieth year. It will be seen that we have availed ourselves

largely of his valuable journal, and on various grounds it is to be regretted that he never brought it farther. He himself, however, wisely reflects at this time, that the period of life to which he had continued would embrace that which would be most useful to general readers, as illustrating the general effect of a prudent or imprudent conduct in the opening of life.

Dr Franklin and his family considered that the general government of the United States never properly remunerated his services. He more than once quotes the old observation* respecting the tendency of republics to ingratitude, and enclosed to a private friend, at about this period, the following able paper, which forms, in fact, a complete summary of his public history.

“ Sketch of the services of B. Franklin to the United States of America.

“ In England, he combated the Stamp Act, and his writings in the papers against it, with his examination in parliament, were thought to have contributed much to its repeal.

“ He opposed the Duty Act, and though he could not prevent its passing, he obtained of Mr Townshend an omission of several articles, particularly salt.

“ In the subsequent difference, he wrote and published many papers, refuting the claim of parliament to tax the colonies.

“ He opposed all oppressive acts.

“ He had two secret negotiations with the ministers for their repeal, of which he has a written narrative. In this he offered payment for the destroyed tea at his own risk, in case they were repealed.

“ He was joined with Messrs Bolland and Lee in all the applications made to government for that purpose. Printed several pamphlets at his own considerable expense, against the then measures of government, whereby he rendered himself obnoxious; was dis-

* *Ploravere suis non respondere favorem,
Speratum meritis.*

graced before the privy-council, deprived of place in the post-office of 300*l.* sterling a year, and obliged to resign his agencies, viz.

Of Pennsylvania . . .	£500
Of Massachusetts . . .	400
Of New Jersey . . .	100
Of Georgia . . .	200

£1200

In the whole 1500*l.* sterling per annum.

“Orders were sent to the king’s governors not to sign any warrants on the treasury for the orders of his salaries; and though he was not actually dismissed by the colonies that employed him, yet thinking the known malice of the court against him rendered him less likely than others to manage their affairs to their advantage, he judged it to be his duty to withdraw from their service, and leave it open for less exceptionable persons, which saved them the necessity of removing him.

“Returning to America, he encouraged the Revolution. Was appointed chairman of the committee of safety, where he projected the chevaux-de-frise for securing Philadelphia, then the residence of Congress.

“Was sent by Congress to head-quarters near Boston, with Messrs Harrison and Lynch in 1775, to settle some affairs with the northern governments and general Washington.

“In the spring of 1776, was sent to Canada with Messrs Chase and Carrol, passing the lakes while they were not yet free from ice. In Canada was with his colleagues instrumental in redressing sundry grievances, and thereby reconciling the people more to our cause. He there advanced to general Arnold and other servants of Congress, then in extreme necessity, 353*l.* in gold out of his own pocket, on the credit of Congress, which was of great service at that juncture in procuring provisions for our army.

“Being at the time he was ordered on this service

upwards of seventy years of age, he suffered in his health by the hardships of this journey; lodging in the woods, &c. in so inclement a season; but being recovered, the Congress in the same year ordered him to France. Before his departure he put all the money he could raise (between three and four thousand pounds) into their hands; which demonstrating his confidence, encouraged others to lend their money in support of the cause.

“He made no bargain for appointments, but was promised by a vote the *net* salary of 500*l.* sterling per annum, his expenses paid, and to be assisted by a secretary, who was to have 1,000*l.* per annum, to include all contingencies.

“When the Pennsylvania assembly sent him to England in 1764, on the same salary, they allowed him one year's advance for his passage, and in consideration of the prejudice to his private affairs, that must be occasioned by his sudden departure and absence. He has had no such allowance from Congress, was badly accommodated in a miserable vessel, improper for those Northern seas, (and which actually foundered in her return,) was badly fed, so that on his arrival he had scarcely strength to stand.

“His services to the states as commissioner, and afterwards as minister plenipotentiary, are known to Congress, as may appear in his correspondence. His *extra services* may not be so well known, and therefore may be here mentioned. No secretary ever arriving, the business was in part before, and entirely when the other commissioners left him, executed by himself, with the help of his grandson, who at first was only allowed clothes, board, and lodging, and afterwards a salary never exceeding 300*l.* a year, (except while he served as secretary to the commissioners of peace, by which difference in salary, continued many years) the Congress saved, *if they accept it*, 700*l.* sterling a-year.

“He served as *consul* entirely several years, till the

arrival of Mr Barclay, and even after, as that gentleman was obliged to be much and long absent in Holland, Flanders, and England; during which absence, what business of the kind occurred, still came to Mr. Franklin.

“He served, though without any special commission for the purpose, as a *judge of admiralty*; for the Congress having sent him a quantity of blank commissions for privateers, he granted them to cruisers fitted out in the ports of France, some of them manned by old smugglers, who knew every creek on the coast of England, and running all round the island, distressed the British coasting-trade exceedingly, and raised their general insurance. One of these privateers alone, the *Black Prince*, took in the course of a year seventy-five sail. All the papers taken in each prize brought in, were in virtue of an order of council sent up to Mr Franklin who was to examine them, judge of the legality of the capture, and write to the admiralty port, that he found the prize good, and that the sale might be permitted. These papers, which are very voluminous, he has to produce.

“He served also as *merchant* to make purchases, and direct the shipping of stores to a very great value, for which he has charged no commission.

“But the part of his service which was the most fatiguing and confining, was that of receiving and accepting, after a due and necessary examination, the bills of exchange drawn by Congress for interest money, to the amount of *two millions and a half of livres annually*; multitudes of the bills very small, each of which, the smallest, gave as much trouble in examining, as the largest. And this careful examination was found absolutely necessary, from the constant frauds attempted by presenting *seconds* and *thirds* for payment, after the firsts had been discharged. As these bills were arriving more or less by every ship and every post, they required constant attendance. Mr Franklin could make no journey for exercise, as

had been annually his custom, and the confinement brought on a malady that is likely to afflict him while he lives.

"In short, though he has always been an active man, he never went through so much business during eight years, in any part of his life, as during those of his residence in France, which however he did not decline till he saw peace happily made, and found himself in the eightieth year of his age; when, if ever, a man has some right to expect repose."

Habits of usefulness were however Franklin's second nature. In the midst of his increasing infirmities, a society for Political Inquiry and Information was established in Philadelphia, the meetings of which were held in his house. We are not sure whether these meetings closed with his presidency, but the society did not last long. His latest efforts for the public were as head of two other benevolent societies. One for alleviating the miseries of public prisons, and the other, entitled the Pennsylvania Society, for promoting the abolition of slavery, the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and the improvement of the condition of the African race. For the latter he wrote the plan for improving the condition of the free blacks, and the address to the public, which are inserted in our Appendix, No. 8.

The latest public act of his life, was to affix his name as president of the Abolition Society to the memorial presented 12th February, 1789, to the house of Representatives of the United States, praying them to discourage and put down the slave-trade. In the Federal Gazette of the following month, appeared his last-printed essay, signed *Historicus*, and which after the method which he had now practised for more than half a century, contained an excellent parody on the speech of Mr Jackson of Georgia, in the disguise of one stated to have been delivered at Algiers, in 1687. This able piece of satire very characteristically concluded the literary labours of Franklin.

The health of Dr Franklin, as must indeed have been seen by his active life, was remarkably firm through a long series of years. After the attack of pleurisy in 1735, which we have noticed, we read of no interruption of his pursuits until, during the negotiations for peace in 1782, occasional fits of the gout and cholic molested him. From this period he became also subject to the stone as well as gout, and this combination of disorders confined him much to his bed in the year 1789. "During the extremely painful paroxysms," says his friend and physician, Dr Jones, "he was obliged to take large doses of laudanum to mitigate his tortures—still, in the intervals of pain, he not only amused himself with reading and conversing cheerfully with his family, and a few friends who visited him, but was often employed in doing business of a public as well as private nature, with various persons who waited on him for that purpose; and in every instance displayed, not only that readiness and disposition of doing good which was the distinguishing characteristic of his life, but the fullest and clearest possession of his uncommon mental abilities, and not unfrequently indulged himself in those *jeux d'esprits* and entertaining anecdotes, which were the delight of all who heard him.

"About sixteen days before his death, he was seized with a feverish indisposition, without any particular symptoms attending it, till the third or fourth day, when he complained of a pain in the left breast, which increased until it became extremely acute, attended with a cough and laborious breathing. During this state, when the severity of his pains sometimes drew forth a groan of complaint, he would observe—that he was afraid he did not bear them as he ought—acknowledged his grateful sense of the many blessings he had received from that Supreme Being who had raised him from small and low beginnings to such high rank and consideration among men—and made no doubt but his present afflictions were kindly intended to wean him from a world, in which he was

no longer fit to act the part assigned him. In this frame of body and mind he continued till five days before his death, when his pain and difficulty of breathing entirely left him, and his family were flattering themselves with the hopes of his recovery, when an imposthumation, which had formed itself in his lungs, suddenly burst, and discharged a great quantity of matter, which he continued to throw up while he had sufficient strength to do it; but, as that failed, the organs of respiration became gradually oppressed—a calm lethargic state succeeded—and, on the 17th of April, 1790, about eleven o'clock at night, he quietly expired, closing a long and useful life of eighty-four years and three months."

Three days previously, he requested his bed to be made, "in order," as he said, "that he might die in a decent manner;" when his daughter, Mrs Bache, replying, that she hoped he might yet recover, and live some years, he said, "I hope not."

His funeral is said to have been more numerously and more respectably attended than any other that had ever taken place in America. The concourse of people assembled upon the occasion was immense. All the bells in the city were muffled, the newspapers published with black borders, &c. The body was interred amid peals of artillery, and nothing is said to have been omitted that could display the veneration of the citizens for so illustrious a character.

Congress ordered a public mourning throughout America for one month. Dr Smith, provost of the College of Philadelphia, and Mr Rittenhouse, one of its members, were selected by the Philosophical Society to prepare a eulogium to the memory of its founder; and the subscribers to the city library, who had just erected a handsome building for containing their books, left a vacant niche for a statue of their benefactor.

This has since been placed there by the munificence of an estimable citizen of Philadelphia. It was imported from Italy; the name of the artist is Francis

Lazarini; it is composed of Carara marble, and cost five hundred guineas.

It was the first piece of sculpture of that size which had been seen in America. Franklin is represented in a standing posture: one arm is supported by means of some books: in his right hand he wields an inverted sceptre, an emblem of his anti-monarchical principles; and in his left, a scroll of paper. He is dressed in a Roman toga. The resemblance is correct; the head is a copy from the excellent bust produced by the chisel of Houdon. The following inscription is engraved on the pedestal:—

THIS STATUE
of
DR BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
was presented
by
William Bingham, Esq.,
1792.

When the news of his death reached Paris, Mirabeau having obtained leave in the National Assembly to speak, thus announced the event we have been recording:—"Franklin is dead!—(*A profound silence reigned throughout the hall.*) The genius which gave freedom to America, and scattered torrents of light upon Europe is returned to the bosom of divinity.—The sage which two worlds claim, the man disputed by the history of sciences and the history of empires, holds most undoubtedly an elevated rank in the human species.—Political cabinets have but too long notified the death of those who were never great but in their funeral orations; the etiquette of court has but too long sanctioned hypocritical grief. Nations ought only to mourn for their benefactors: the representatives of freemen ought never to recommend any other than the heroes of humanity to their homage.—The Congress hath ordered

a general mourning for one month throughout the fourteen confederated states, on account of the death of Franklin; and America hath thus acquitted her tribute of admiration in behalf of one of the fathers of her constitution. Would it not be worthy of your fellow-legislators to unite yourselves in this religious act, to participate in this homage rendered in the face of the universe to the rights of men, and to the philosopher who has so eminently propagated the conquest of them throughout the world!—Antiquity would have elevated altars to that mortal who, for the advantage of the human race, embracing both heaven and earth in his vast and extensive mind, knew how to subdue thunder and tyranny.—Enlightened and free Europe at least owes its remembrance and its regret to one of the greatest men who have ever served the cause of philosophy and of liberty.—I propose that a decree do now pass, enacting that the National Assembly shall wear mourning during three days for Benjamin Franklin.”

MM. de la Rochefoucault and la Fayette immediately rose, in order to second this motion.

The assembly adopted it at first by acclamation, and afterwards decreed by a large majority, amidst the plaudits of all the spectators, that on Monday the 14th of June it should go into mourning for three days; that the discourse of M. Mirabeau should be printed; and that the president should write a letter of condolence, upon the occasion, to the Congress of America.

The commons of Paris, as a tribute of honour to his memory, assisted in a body at the funeral oration, attended by the abbé Fauchet, in the rotunda of the commune, which was hung with black, illuminated with chandeliers, and decorated with devices analogous to the occasion.

Franklin's original epitaph for himself, though it has been often quoted, must not be omitted here. It was first composed in the year 1728.

THE BODY
 of
 BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
 Printer,
 (like the cover of an old book,
 its contents torn out,
 and stript of its lettering and gilding)
 lies here food for worms;
 yet the work itself shall not be lost,
 for it will (as he believed) appear once more
 in a new
 and more beautiful edition,
 corrected and amended
 by
 THE AUTHOR.

In Dr Smith's eulogium upon Franklin, he read the following extract of a letter from his successor at the court of France, the hon. Thomas Jefferson, afterwards president of the United States.

[EXTRACT.]

"I feel both the wish and the duty to communicate in compliance with your wishes, whatever within my knowledge might render justice to the memory of our great countryman Dr Franklin, in whom philosophy has to deplore one of its principal luminaries extinguished. But my opportunities of knowing the interesting facts of his life have not been equal to my desire of making them known.

"I can only therefore testify in general that there appeared to me more respect and veneration attached to the character of Dr Franklin in France, than to that of any other person in the same country, foreign or native. I had opportunities of knowing, particularly, how far these sentiments were felt by the foreign ambassadors and ministers at the court of Versailles. The fable of his capture by the Algerines propagated by the English newspapers, excited no uneasiness, as it was seen at once to be a dish cooked up to please certain readers, but nothing could exceed

the anxiety of his diplomatic brethren on a subsequent report of his death, which, although premature, bore some marks of authenticity.

"I found the ministers of France equally impressed with his talents and integrity. The count de Vergennes particularly gave me repeated and unequivocal proofs of his entire confidence in him.

"When he left Passy, it seemed as if the village had lost its patriarch. On taking leave of the court, which he did by letter, the king ordered him to be handsomely complimented, and furnished him with a litter and mules of his own, the only kind of conveyance the state of his health could bear.

"The success of Dr Franklin at the court of France was an excellent school of humility to me. On being presented to any one as the minister of America, the common-place question was, 'C'est vous, monsieur, qui remplacez le Docteur Franklin?'—Is it you, sir, who replace Dr Franklin? I generally answered—No one can replace him, I am only his successor."

The following extracts from his will, considerably illustrate the character of Dr Franklin.

"I was born in Boston, New England, and owe my first instructions in literature to the free grammar-schools established there. I therefore give one hundred pounds sterling to my executors, to be by them, the survivors or survivor of them, paid over to the managers or directors of the free-schools in my native town of Boston, to be by them, or the person or persons who shall have the superintendence and management of the said schools, put out to interest, and so continued at interest for ever; which interest annually shall be laid out in silver medals, and given as honorary rewards annually by the directors of the said free-schools, for the encouragement of scholarship in the said schools belonging to the said town, in such manner as to the discretion of the select men of the said town shall seem meet.

"Out of the salary that may remain due to me, as

president of the state, I give the sum of two thousand pounds to my executors, to be by them, the survivors or survivor of them, paid over to such person or persons as the legislature of this state, by an act of assembly, shall appoint to receive the same, in trust, to be employed for making the Schuylkil navigable.

"During the number of years I was in business as a stationer, printer, and post-master, a great many small sums became due to me, for books, advertisements, postage of letters, and other matters, which were not collected, when, in 1757, I was sent by the Assembly to England as their agent—and, by subsequent appointments, continued there till 1775—when, on my return, I was immediately engaged in the affairs of congress, and sent to France in 1776, where I remained nine years, not returning till 1785; and the said debts not being demanded in such a length of time, have become in a manner obsolete, yet are nevertheless justly due.—These as they are stated in my great folio ledger, E, I bequeath to the contributors of the Pennsylvania hospital, hoping that those debtors, and the descendants of such as are deceased, who now, as I find, make some difficulty of satisfying such antiquated demands as just debts, may, however, be induced to pay or give them as charity to that excellent institution. I am sensible that much must be inevitably lost; but I hope something considerable may be recovered. It is possible, too, that some of the parties charged, may have existing old unsettled accounts against me; in which case the managers of the hospital will allow and deduct the amount, or pay the balance, if they find it against me.

"I request my friends, Henry Hill, esq., John Jay, esq., Francis Hopkinson, and Mr Edward Duffield, of Bonfield, in Philadelphia county, to be the executors of this my last will and testament, and I hereby nominate and appoint them for that purpose.

"I would have my body buried with as little expense or ceremony as may be.

"Philadelphia, July 17, 1788."

CODICIL.

"I, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, in the foregoing or annexed last will and testament, having further considered the same, do think proper to make and publish the following codicil, or addition thereto :

"It having long been a fixed and political opinion of mine, that in a democratical state there ought to be no offices of profit, for the reasons I had given in an article of my drawing in our constitution, it was my intention, when I accepted the office of president, to devote the appointed salary to some public use: accordingly I had already, before I made my last will, in July last, given large sums of it to colleges, schools, building of churches, &c., and in that will I bequeathed two thousand pounds more to the state, for the purpose of making the Schuylkil navigable; but understanding since, that such a sum would do but little towards accomplishing such a work, and that the project is not likely to be undertaken for many years to come—and having entertained another idea, which I hope may be more extensively useful, I do hereby revoke and annul the bequest, and direct that the certificates I have for what remains due to me of that salary, be sold towards raising the sum of two thousand pounds sterling to be disposed of as I am now about to order.

"It has been an opinion, that he who receives an estate from his ancestors, is under some obligation to transmit the same to posterity. This obligation lies not on me, who never inherited a shilling from any ancestor or relation. I shall, however, if it is not diminished by some accident before my death, leave a considerable estate among my descendants and relations. The above observation is made merely as an apology to my family, for making bequests that do not appear to have any immediate relation to their advantage.

"I was born in Boston, New England, and owe my first instructions in literature to the free grammar-

schools established there. I have therefore, considered those schools in my will.

“But I am also under obligations to the state of Massachusetts, for having, unasked, appointed me formerly their agent, with a handsome salary, which continued some years; and although I accidentally lost in their service, by transmitting governor Hutchinson's letters, much more than the amount of what they gave me, I do not think that ought in the least to diminish my gratitude. I have considered that, among artisans, good apprentices are most likely to make good citizens; and having myself been bred to a manual art, printing, in my native town, and afterwards assisted to set up my business in Philadelphia by kind loans of money from two friends there, which was the foundation of my fortune, and all the utility in life that may be ascribed to me—I wish to be useful even after my death, if possible, in forming and advancing other young men, that may be serviceable to their country in both these towns.

“To this end I devote two thousand pounds sterling, which I give, one thousand thereof to the inhabitants of the town of Boston, in Massachusetts, and the other thousand to the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia, in trust, to and for the uses, intents, and purposes, hereinafter mentioned and declared.

“The said sum of one thousand pounds sterling, if accepted by the inhabitants of the town of Boston, shall be managed under the direction of the select men, united with the ministers of the oldest episcopalian, congregational, and presbyterian churches in that town, who are to let out the same upon interest at five per cent. per annum, to such young married artificers, under the age of twenty-five years, as have served an apprenticeship in the said town, and faithfully fulfilled the duties required in their indentures, so as to obtain a good moral character from at least two respectable citizens, who are willing to become sureties in a bond, with the applicants, for the repayment of the money so lent, with interest, according

to the terms hereinafter prescribed; all which bonds are to be taken for Spanish milled dollars, or the value thereof in current gold coin: and the managers shall keep a bound book, or books, wherein shall be entered the names of those who shall apply for and receive the benefit of this institution, and of their sureties, together with the sums lent, the dates, and other necessary and proper records, respecting the business and concerns of this institution: and as these loans are intended to assist young married artificers in setting up their business, they are to be proportioned by the discretion of the managers, so as not to exceed sixty pounds sterling to one person, nor to be less than fifteen pounds.

“And if the number of appliers so entitled should be so large as that the sum will not suffice to afford to every one some assistance, these aids may therefore be small at first, but as the capital increases by the accumulated interest, they will be more ample. And in order to serve as many as possible in their turn, as well as to make the repayment of the principal borrowed more easy, each borrower shall be obliged to pay with the yearly interest, one-tenth part of the principal; which sums of principal and interest so paid in, shall be again let out to fresh borrowers. And it is presumed that there will be always found in Boston virtuous and benevolent citizens, willing to bestow a part of their time in doing good to the rising generation, by superintending and managing this institution gratis;—it is hoped, that no part of the money will at any time lie dead, or be diverted to other purposes, but be continually augmenting by the interest; in which case there may in time be more than the occasion in Boston may require: and then some may be spared to the neighbouring or other towns in the said state of Massachusetts, which may desire to have it, such towns engaging to pay punctually the interest, and the proportions of the principal annually to the inhabitants of the town of Boston. If this plan is executed, and

succeeds, as projected, without interruption for one hundred years, the sum will be then one hundred and thirty-one thousand pounds; of which I would have the managers of the donation to the town of Boston then lay out, at their discretion, one hundred thousand pounds in public works which may be judged of most general utility to the inhabitants: such as fortifications, bridges, aqueducts, public buildings, baths, pavements, or whatever may make living in the town more convenient to its people, and render it more agreeable to strangers resorting thither for health, or a temporary residence. The remaining thirty-one thousand pounds I would have continued to be let out to interest, in the manner above directed, for one hundred years; as I hope it will have been found, that the institution has had a good effect on the conduct of youth, and been of service to many worthy characters and useful citizens. At the end of this second term, if no unfortunate accident has prevented the operation, the sum will be four millions and sixty-one thousand pounds sterling, of which I leave one million and sixty-one thousand pounds to the disposition and management of the inhabitants of the town of Boston, and the three millions to the disposition of the government of the state; not presuming to carry my views farther.

“All the directions herein given respecting the disposition and management of the donation to the inhabitants of Boston, I would have observed respecting that to the inhabitants of Philadelphia, only as Philadelphia is incorporated, I request the corporation of that city to undertake the management, agreeable to the said directions; and I do hereby vest them with full and ample powers for that purpose. And having considered that the covering its ground-plot with buildings and pavements, which carry off most rain, and prevent its soaking into the earth, and renewing and purifying the springs, whence the water of the wells most gradually grow worse, and in time be unfit for use, as I find has happened in all old cities; I re-

commend, that, at the end of the first hundred years, if not done before, the corporation of the city employ a part of the hundred thousand pounds in bringing by pipes the water of Wiffahickon-creek into the town, so as to supply the inhabitants, which I apprehend may be done without great difficulty, the level of that creek being much above that of the city, and may be made higher by a dam. I also recommend making the Schuylkil completely navigable. At the end of the second hundred years, I would have the disposition of the four millions and sixty-one thousand pounds divided between the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia and the government of Pennsylvania in the same manner as herein-directed with respect to that of the inhabitants of Boston and the government of Massachusetts. It is my desire that this institution should take place, and begin to operate within one year after my decease; for which purpose due notice should be publicly given, previous to the expiration of that year, that those for whose benefit this establishment is intended may make their respective applications: and I hereby direct my executors, the survivors and survivor of them, within six months after my decease, to pay over the said sum of two thousand pounds sterling to such persons as shall be duly appointed by the select men of Boston, and the corporation of Philadelphia, and to receive and take charge of their respective sums of one thousand pounds each for the purposes aforesaid. Considering the accidents to which all human affairs and projects are subject in such a length of time, I have perhaps too much flattered myself with a vain fancy, that these dispositions, if carried into execution, will be continued without interruption, and have the effects proposed; I hope, however, that if the inhabitants of the two cities should not think fit to undertake the execution, they will at least accept the offer of these donations, as a mark of my good will, token of my gratitude, and testimony of my desire to be useful to them even after my departure. I wish, in-

deed, that they may both undertake to endeavour the execution of my project, because I think, that, though unforeseen difficulties may arise, expedients will be found to remove them, and the scheme be found practicable. If one of them accepts the money with the conditions, and the other refuses, my will then is, that both sums be given to the inhabitants of the city accepting; the whole to be applied to the same purposes, and under the same regulations directed for the separate parts; and if both refuse, the money remains of course in the mass of my estate, and it is to be disposed of therewith, according to my will made the seventeenth day of July, 1788.

My fine crab-tree walking-stick, with a gold head curiously wrought in the form of the Cap of Liberty, I give to my friend, and the friend of mankind, General Washington. If it were a sceptre, he has merited it, and would become it.

Dr Priestley in 1802, felt himself called upon to vindicate the character of his deceased friend, and contributes an interesting anecdote or two of his life, in the following letters:—

Sir,

I have just read in the *Monthly Review*, vol. xxxvi. p. 357, that the late Mr Pennant said of Dr Franklin, that, living under the protection of our mild government, he was secretly playing the incendiary, and too successfully inflaming the minds of our fellow-subjects in America, till that great explosion happened, which for ever disunited us from our once happy colonies. As it is in my power, as far as my testimony will be regarded to refute this charge, I think it due to our friendship to do it. It is probable that no person now living was better acquainted with Dr Franklin and his sentiments, on all subjects of importance, than myself, for several years before the American war. I think I knew him as well as any one man can gene-

rally know another ; I spent the winters in London in the family of the marquis of Lansdowne, and few days passed without my seeing more or less of Dr Franklin ; and the last day that he passed in England, having given out that he should depart, the day before we spent together without any interruption from morning till night.

Now he was so far from wishing for a rupture with the colonies, that he did more than most men would have done, to prevent it. His constant advice to his countrymen he always said, was, "to bear every thing from England, however unjust;" saying, that it could not last long, as they would soon outgrow all their hardships. On this account Dr Price, who then corresponded with some of the principal persons in America, said, he began to be very unpopular there. He always said, if there must be a war, it will last ten years, and I shall not live to see the end of it. This I have heard him say many times.

It was at his request, enforced by that of Dr Fothergil, that I wrote an anonymous pamphlet, calculated to show the injustice and impolicy of a war with the colonies, previous to the meeting of a new parliament. As I then lived at Leeds, he corrected the press himself, and to a passage, in which I lamented the attempt to establish an arbitrary power, in so large a part of the British empire, he added the following clause ; "to the imminent danger of our most valuable commerce, and of that national strength, liberty, security, and felicity, which depend on union and liberty."

The unity of the British empire in all its parts, was a favourite idea of his. He used to compare it to a beautiful China vase, which, if once broken, could never be put together again ; and so great an admirer was he at the time of the British constitution, that he said he saw no inconvenience from its being extended over a great part of the globe. With these sentiments he left England, but when, on his arrival in America, he found the war begun, and that there was no receding, no man entered more warmly into the

cause of his country in opposition to that of Great Britain. Three of his letters to me, one written immediately after his landing, and published in the collection of his miscellaneous works, p. 365, 552, and 555, will prove this.

By many persons, Dr Franklin is considered as having been a cold-hearted man; so callous to every feeling of humanity, that the prospect of all the horrors of a civil war could not affect him. This was far from being the case. A great part of the day above-mentioned, that we spent together, he was looking over a number of American newspapers, directing me what to extract from them for the English ones; and in reading them, he was frequently not able to proceed, for the tears literally running down his cheeks. To strangers he was cold and reserved; but, where he was intimate, no man indulged more pleasantry and good humour: by this, he was the delight of a club to which he alludes in one of his letters above referred to, called the Whig Club, that met at the London Coffee House, of which Dr Price, Dr Kippis, Mr John Lee, and others of the stamp, were members.

Hoping that this vindication of Dr Franklin will give pleasure to many of your readers, I shall proceed to relate some particulars relating to his behaviour, when lord Loughborough, then Mr Wedderburne, pronounced his violent invective against him at the privy council, on his presenting the complaints of Massachusetts. (I think it was against their governor.) Some of the particulars may be thought amusing.

On the morning of the day on which the cause was to be heard, I met Mr Burke in Parliament Street, with Mr Douglas, afterwards bishop of Carlisle; and after introducing us to each other, as men of letters, he asked me, whither I was going? I said, I could tell him where I *wished* to go. He then asked me where that was: I said, to the Privy Council, but that I was afraid I could get no admission; he then desired me to go along with him. Accordingly I did; but when we got into the ante-room, we found it quite filled

with persons desirous of getting admission. Seeing this, I said we should never get through the crowd ; he said, give me your arm, and locking it fast in his, he soon made his way to the door of the privy council. I then said, Mr Burke, you are an excellent leader ; he replied, I wish other persons thought so too.

After waiting a short time, the door of the privy council opened, and we entered the first, when Mr Burke took his stand behind the first chair, next to the president, and I behind that the next to his. When the business was opened, it was sufficiently evident from the speech of Mr Wedderburne, who was counsel for the governor, that the real object of the court was to insult Dr Franklin. All this time he stood in a corner of the room, not far from me, without the least apparent emotion.

Mr Dunning, who was the leading counsel on the part of the colony, was so hoarse, that he could hardly make himself heard ; and Mr Lee, who was the second, spoke but feebly in reply ; so that Mr Wedderburne had a complete triumph. At the sallies of his sarcastic wit, all the members of the council, the president himself (lord Gower) not excepted, frequently laughed outright. No person belonging to the council behaved with decent gravity except lord North, who, coming late, took his stand behind the chair opposite to me.

When the business was over, Dr Franklin in going out, took me by the hand, in a manner that indicated some feeling ; I soon followed him, and going through the ante-room, saw Mr Wedderburne, surrounded with a circle of his friends and admirers. Being known to him, he stepped forward, as if to speak to me, but I turned aside and made what haste I could out of the place.

The next morning I breakfasted with the Doctor, when he said he had never before been so sensible of the power of a good conscience. He was accused of clandestinely procuring certain letters, containing complaints against the governor, and sending them to

America, with a view to excite their animosity against him, and thus to embroil the two countries. But he assured me, that he did not even know that such letters existed, till they were brought to him, as agent of the colony, in order to be sent to his constituents; and the cover of the letters being lost, he only guessed at the person to whom they were addressed by the contents.

That Dr Franklin, notwithstanding he did not shew it at that time, was much impressed by the business of the privy council, appeared from this circumstance: when he attended there he was dressed in a suit of Manchester velvet; and Silas Dean told me, that when they met at Paris, to sign the treaty between France and America, he purposely put on that suit.

Hoping that this communication will be of some service to the memory of Dr Franklin, and gratify his friends,

I am, Sir, yours &c.

J. PRIESTLEY.

Northumberland, Nov. 10, 1802.

CONDORCET in his "Eloge de Franklin," thus ably epitomizes his intellectual claims and character.

"The education of Dr Franklin had not opened to him the career of the sciences, but nature had given him a genius capable of comprehending, and even of embellishing them.

"His first essays on electricity fully prove, that he was but very little acquainted with this part of natural philosophy. Being at an immense distance from Europe, he possessed but imperfect machines. Notwithstanding this disadvantage, he soon discovered the immediate cause of electrical *phenomena*. He explained it, by demonstrating the existence of a fluid, insensible while it remains in a state of equilibrium, and which instantly manifests itself, either when this

equilibrium is destroyed, or while it endeavours to re-establish it. His analysis of the grand Leyden experiment is a *chef-d'œuvre* at once of sagacity, of perspicuity, and of art.

"Soon after this, he perceived an analogy between the effects of thunder and electricity, which struck him prodigiously. He conceived the idea of an apparatus, by means of which he proposed to interrogate the heavens; he makes the experiment, and the answer fully confirms his conjectures. Thus the cause of lightning is now known; its effects, so ruinous, so irregular in appearance, are not only explained, but imitated.

"We at length know why the lightning silently and peaceably follows certain bodies, and disperses others with a loud noise; why it melts metals, sometimes shivers to atoms, and sometimes seems to respect those substances which surround it.

"But it was but little to imitate the thunder: Dr Franklin conceived the audacious idea of averting its vengeance.

"He imagined, that a bar of iron, pointed at the end, and connected with the ground, or rather with the water, would establish a communication between a cloud and the earth, and thus guarantee, or protect the objects in the immediate neighbourhood of such a conductor.

"The success of this idea was fully commensurate to all his wishes; and thus man was enabled to wield a power sufficient to disarm the wrath of heaven!

"This great discovery was by far too brilliant and too singular not to conjure up a numerous host of enemies against it. Notwithstanding this, the custom of using conductors was adopted in America, and in Great Britain; but at the commencement of war with the mother-country, some *soi-disant* English philosophers endeavoured, by unfair experiments, to throw doubts upon the utility of his scheme, and seemed to wish to ravish this discovery from Benjamin Franklin, by way of punishing him for the loss of thirteen colonies.

“It is unfortunately more easy to mislead a nation in regard to its proper interests, than to impose upon men of science relative to an experiment: thus those prejudices which were able to draw England into an unjust and fatal contest, could not make the learned of Europe change the form of the electrical conductors of Franklin. They multiplied in France after France had become allied to America: in truth, the sentence of the police has been opposed to it in some of our towns, as it has been opposed in Italy by the decisions of casuists, and with just as little success.

“In a free country the law follows the public opinion; in despotic governments the public opinion often contradicts the laws, but always concludes at length by submitting itself to their influence. At this day, the use of this preservative has become common among all nations, but without being universally adopted. A long course of experiment does not permit us any longer to doubt of its efficacy.

“If the edifices provided with it have still some dangers to dread, this happens because between the bounded efforts of man and the boundless force of nature, there can never be established any other than an unequal contest.

“But what an immense career has this successful experiment opened to our hopes!

“Why may we not one day hope to see the baneful activity of all the scourges of mankind melt away, as that of thunder has done before the powers of genius, exercised through an immensity of ages?

“When all the regions of nature are disarmed by the happy use of her gifts, we shall experience nothing but her benefits.

“Humanity and frankness were the basis of his morality. An habitual gaiety, a happy facility in regard to every thing respecting the common concerns of life, and a tranquil inflexibility in affairs of importance, formed the character of Dr Franklin. These two latter qualities are easily united in men, who endowed with a superior mind and strong understand-

ing abandon trifling things to doubt and to indifference.

"His system of conduct was simple ; he endeavoured to banish sorrow and wearisomeness by means of temperance and labour. 'Happiness,' he was used to say, 'like a body, is composed of insensible elements.'

"Without disdaining glory, he knew how to despise the injustice of opinion; and while enjoying renown he could pardon envy.

"During his youth he had carried his *pyrrhonism* to the very foundation of morality: the natural goodness of his heart, and the directions of his conscience were his sole guides; and they very rarely led him astray.

"A little later in life, he allowed that there existed a morality founded upon the nature of man, independent of all speculative opinions, and anterior to all conventions.

"He thought that our souls in another life received the recompense of their virtues, and the punishment of their faults: he believed in the existence of a God, at once beneficent and just, to whom he offered up, in the secrecy of his own conscience, a silent but pure homage.

"He did not despise the exterior forms of religion; he even thought them useful to morality: he however submitted himself to them but seldom.

"All religions appeared to him to be equally good, provided a universal toleration was the principle of them, and that they did not deprive of the recompense due to virtue, those who were of another belief, or of no belief at all.

"The application of the sciences to the common purposes of life, and to domestic economy, was often the subject of his researches: he took pleasure to demonstrate, that even in the most common affairs of life custom and ignorance are but bad guides; that we were far from having exhausted the resources of nature, and were only deficient in men capable of interrogating her.

"He never wrote any thing upon politics, except some

tracts required by circumstances, and produced upon the spur of the occasion.

"It was easy to perceive that he always endeavoured to reduce all questions to their simple elements, and to present them in such a manner to the public, that the unlearned might be enabled to understand, and to resolve them. It was to such that he always addressed himself. Sometimes it was an error that he attempted to root out and to destroy; and sometimes a useful truth for which he wished gently to prepare their minds, that at length they might be enabled to receive, and above all, to preserve it. It is in vain that we shall search for any subject on which he could be supposed to have written from the mere impulse of glory.

"Sometimes he employed those forms which in appearance only disguise the truth, in order to render it more affecting, and which instead of disclosing, allow the pleasure of divining it.

"It was thus, that while seeming to teach the surest means for diminishing the extent of a state which is found too difficult to be governed, he lampooned the conduct of the English ministry in regard to America; thus also, by way of displaying the injustice of the pretensions of Great Britain, in regard to her colonies, he supposes the king of Prussia to publish an edict, in which he subjects England to the payment of certain taxes, under the pretext that the inhabitants of the banks of the Oder had formerly conquered and peopled it.

"His conversation like his style, was always natural, and often ingenious. In his youth he had read Xenophon, an author who had inspired him with a taste for the Socratic method of argument,—and he took pleasure in employing it, sometimes by putting artful questions, tending to make the advocates of a false opinion refute themselves; sometimes by an application of their principles to other events, obliging them thus to recognise the truth, when disengaged from the clouds within which custom or prejudice had en-

veloped it; at other times, deciding by means of an apologue, a tale, or an anecdote, those questions which the pride of a serious discussion would have obscured.

"Being employed by some of the American provinces to request an abolition of the insulting custom of transporting malefactors to the colonies, the minister by way of reply, alleged the necessity of delivering England of such vermin.

" 'What would you say to us,' rejoined Dr Franklin, 'if we were to export our rattle-snakes to England?'

"Dr Franklin had never formed a general system of politics: he examined the questions exactly as the events presented themselves to his observation, or as his foresight anticipated them; and he decided them all according to the standard of those principles which originate in a virtuous mind, and in a judgment at once just and comprehensive.

"In general, he appeared not fond of giving all at once the greatest possible degree of perfection to human institutions: he thought it a more certain way to wait for the effects of time; he was not fond of attacking abuses in front; he thought it more prudent first to attack those errors which are the source of them.

"He had in politics, as in morals, that kind of indulgence which requires but little, because it hopes much, and which forgets, and even pardons the present, in favour of the future. He always proposed those measures which seemed to him to be most proper in order to preserve peace; because he was not fond of delivering up the happiness of mankind to the uncertainty of events, nor truth to the interest of party.

"He preferred the good obtained by reason to that which might be expected from enthusiasm; because it is more easy to be procured, and infinitely more lasting.

"In one word, his politics were those of a man who believed in the power of reason, and the reality of

virtue, and who aspired to be the teacher of his fellow-citizens, before he became their legislator."

Dr Franklin was famous through life for a playful and gentle humour in the style of his moral compositions, which has induced us to select for our Appendix, No. IX., *The Whistle*. *The Petition in Favour of the Left Hand*. *The Art of Procuring Pleasant Dreams*, and the *Morals of Chess*, as amongst the most successful pieces of this kind in the language.

Nor could we omit for our economical readers, *The Advice to a Young Tradesman*. *Hints to those that would be Rich*, and the *Way to make Money Plenty in Every Man's Pocket*.

No. X. we think will also interest the reader, containing the best of his small Political Pieces, or Fragments that we have not elsewhere inserted or referred to.

Upon the subject of one of his smaller pieces, the "Parable against Persecution," we have something a little singular to state. Lord Kaimes, in his *Sketches of the History of Man*, first stated Dr Franklin's claim to be the author of this, in these words, "The following parable against persecution was communicated to me by Dr Franklin of Philadelphia, a man who makes a great figure in the learned world, and who would still make a greater figure for benevolence and candour, were virtue as much regarded in this declining age as knowledge." Then follows a warm eulogium on the style of the parable.

Knowing this parable to have been in existence ever since the reign of Charles II, we were a little anxious on the appearance of the last edition of Franklin's life by his grandson, to see whether Dr Franklin ever directly claimed it as his own. This, if the editor be correct, he certainly did. Being applied to in 1779, to correct an edition of his writings, then publishing by his friend Mr Vaughan in London, he says, "enclosed I send a more perfect copy of the chapter," and the note of his grandson is, "A parable

against persecution. See Writings, part 3, Miscellanies Sec. 1."—See FRANKLIN'S *Memoir*, v. 3. p. 47.

We now therefore reprint from the *Polemical Discourses* of Bishop TAYLOR, fo. 1674, p. 1078, the following paragraph, which will be clearly seen to contain the substance of the story, though Franklin has added an incident or two, improved the style, and connected the whole with the after history of the Jews in an ingenious manner. We willingly suppose Dr Franklin had found this parable in his earlier reading and forgotten its origin! It should also be noticed that TAYLOR introduces it by saying, "I end with a story which I found in the Jews' books." But after inquiry made in high quarters, we have heard of no one else who ever found it there.

When Abraham sat at his tent-door, according to his custom, waiting to entertain strangers, he espied an old man stooping and leaning on his staff, weary with age and travel, coming towards him, who was a hundred years of age: he received him kindly, and washed his feet, provided supper, caused him to sit down: but observing the old man ate and prayed not, nor begged for a blessing on his meat, he asked him why he did not worship the God of heaven? The old man told him that he worshipped the fire only, and acknowledged no other God. At which answer Abraham grew so zealously angry, that he thrust the old man out of his tent, and exposed him to all the evils of the night and an unguarded condition. When the old man was gone, God called to Abraham, and asked him where the stranger was. He replied, I thrust him away, because he did not worship thee. God answered him, I have suffered him these hundred years, although he dishonoured me; and couldst not thou endure him one night when he gave thee no trouble? Upon this, saith the story, Abraham fetched him back again, and gave him hospitable entertainment and wise instruction. Go thou and do likewise, and thy charity will be rewarded by the God of Abraham.

THE FOLLOWING IS WHAT HAS BEEN CALLED DR. FRANKLIN'S PARABLE AGAINST PERSECUTION, IN IMITATION OF SCRIPTURE LANGUAGE, AS FINALLY CORRECTED BY HIMSELF.

1. And it came to pass after these things, that Abraham sat in the door of his tent, about the going down of the sun:

2. And behold a man, bowed with age, came from the way of the wilderness leaning on a staff.

3. And Abraham rose and met him, and said unto him, Turn in I pray thee, and wash thy feet, and tarry all night, and thou shalt arise early on the morrow, and go on thy way.

4. But the man said nay, for I will abide under this tree.

5. And Abraham pressed him greatly; so he turned, and they went into the tent, and Abraham baked unleavened bread, and they did eat.

6. And when Abraham saw that the man blessed not God, he said unto him, Wherefore dost thou not worship the most high God, Creator of heaven and earth?

7. And the man answered and said, I do not worship the God thou speakest of, neither do I call upon his name; for I have made to myself a god, which abideth alway in mine house, and provideth me with all things.

8. And Abraham's zeal was kindled against the man, and he arose and drove him forth with blows into the wilderness.

9. And at midnight God called unto Abraham, saying, Abraham, where is the stranger?

10. And Abraham answered and said, Lord, he would not worship thee, neither would he call upon thy name, therefore I have driven him out from before my face into the wilderness.

11. And God said, have I borne with him these hundred ninety and eight years, and clothed him, not-

withstanding his rebellion against me; and couldst not thou, that art thyself a sinner, hear with him one night?

12. And Abraham said, Let not the anger of the Lord wax hot against his servant; lo, I have sinned; forgive me, I pray thee.

13. And Abraham arose, and went forth into the wilderness; and sought diligently for the man, and found him, and returned with him to the tent; and when he had entreated him kindly, he sent him away on the morrow with gifts.

14. And God spake unto Abraham, saying, For this thy sin, shall thy seed be afflicted four hundred years in a strange land:

15. But for thy repentance will I deliver them; and they shall come forth with power, and with gladness of heart, and with much substance.

Having supplied several unequivocal testimonies of the high respect entertained for the character and talents of Franklin by distinguished contemporaries, we cannot possibly conclude more consistently than with a brief attempt to convey a few of the general impressions which a calm consideration of his history may reasonably produce, at a period when the judgment is less liable to be warped by friendly partiality on the one side, or political and party animosity on the other.

The first thing that will occur to every reader, in a perusal of the life of Dr Franklin, is the early hold which the principle of utility gained over his mind, so as to almost exclusively sway the whole of his conduct, both in reference to himself, and society at large. For the attainment of superiority in the grand line of practical duty, no man, either by capacity or temperance, could be better gifted than this self-formed philosopher. To a habit of the closest observation, he joined the keenest sagacity; and to these positive advantages united that equally important negative

one of almost absolute self-control ; without which, in *his* original line of life, the strongest natural powers will seldom find opportunities to acquire social and intellectual distinction. Hence, by the humble and respectable class, of which he once formed a part, the progress from obscurity to eminence of this extraordinary man may be studied with peculiar benefit. Similar prudence, to be sure, by no means implies similar capacity, but were the prudence more general, in how much greater a degree might the latent ability of certain classes be called into activity. In thus observing however, it is not meant to contend, that prudent, acute, and serviceable as are the majority of the frugal and economical maxims of Franklin, instances may not be selected both in his theory and practice, tending to create a suspicion that he allowed too little scope for the play of the social sympathies. We remark in his own memoirs, the concern which the loss of a little loan of money to a less fortunate fellow-adventurer seemed to inspire in him ; nor are we quite satisfied that he acted with much generosity to his poorer relations, of whom in his prosperity we hear little or nothing*. On the

* Although in the service of his country, he occupied his best and ripest powers with unwearied diligence and unimpeachable disinterestedness, the details of his private life leave some remarkable deficiencies. We read of his father and mother, and of their thirteen children in the early part of his life, but hear little of his intercourse with brothers or sisters after his attainment of wealth and influence. Of his own family we learn still less, either from him or his various biographers, who are even silent as to the number of his children. His only son seems to have gone early into the army, a destination which we should have little imagined his father to seek for him. He is afterwards appointed, apparently by Dr Franklin's influence, to the government of New Jersey, and remains there necessarily promoting measures in direct opposition to his father's, during the whole of the American war. All Dr Franklin thinks it necessary to state about this, is, that he took no pains to bias his son's opinions, or to induce him to swerve from what he considered his duty at this juncture. "I only wish you to act uprightly and steadily," said he, "avoiding that duplicity which in Hutchinson adds contempt to indignation. You are a thorough government man which I do not wonder at, nor do I aim at converting you." No one has a right to request another to act against his own principles, but it must be confessed that in this instance the forbearance is carried to an extreme, as it appears that Governor Franklin raised and commanded a corps of loyalists at New Jersey, while his father was in Paris soliciting French cannon, to drive the English and all who supported them from that part of the world. It is proper however to observe, that after the peace of 1783, Dr Franklin touchingly complains to his son of his having taken up arms against him in a cause wherein his good fame,

other hand his benevolence upon his own principle of general utility, was active and unremitting, and both as a patriot and philanthropist, he may vie with some of the most exalted names in either ancient or modern history. These are claims which must not bow the head to mere sentiment, and a more kindling temperament in regard to the sufferings of individuals. Not to mention how natural it is for the rigidly prudent to feel little for those who are otherwise, it is unreasonable to expect from the Catos of society the gentler virtues which belong to a totally opposite species of mental constitution.

In respect to intellectual character, we have already observed, that keen sagacity, and minute, and almost microscopic observation, formed the leading features of that of Franklin. This judgment will, we think, be borne out, whether we attend to his conduct as a politician, a man of science, a citizen, a tradesman, or a moral and practical philosopher. The very same attentive observation and wary discrimination, which from a hungry boy, with scarcely a shilling in his pocket, made him a leading tradesman in Philadelphia, was displayed by him in all his other capacities. It is to his praise, that in the exercise of gifts so frequently conducive to selfishness and duplicity, he seldom appears to have misused them; and if, in our admiration of the more manly and straightforward qualities, we may sometimes feel rebuffed by formal maxims for the adroit management of other people, the essence of which is dissimulation and disguise, we must ask ourselves how often they allow themselves to be governed otherwise. Thus much upon the conduct of Dr Franklin as the influential member of a community; as an employed and active politician it is unnecessary to say that the difficulty is still greater. In the calm regions of pure science, his leading quali-

fortune, and life were at stake, and properly asserts that there are natural ties which even supersede political ones. To complete the confusion of moral and political duties in this family, the son of the loyalist Governor was actively employed with his grandfather at Paris, in opposition to the cause espoused by his own father,—all which is certainly anomalous and strange.

ties were however useful without alloy, and in reference both to his scientific discoveries, and his literary efforts, they appear to great advantage. As a philosopher, and a philosophical friend, indeed, he shone with unqualified lustre. We have seen his efforts for the protection of science, during the horrors of war; and throughout the same stormy period, he kept up his intercourse with his friends in England, neither committing them with his political measures, nor involving them in his indignation at their country. His friendship with Mr Hartley, and the general kindness of his character were, as we have seen, the great means of restoring peace to a warring world. Whether we are to regard as slightly disingenuous his concealment of his occasional obligation to obsolete sources, as in his discovery of the effect of oil upon the waves, which he is suspected of having borrowed from a narration by the venerable Bede, and his *Oriental Apologue*, most certainly modified from the sketch of *Jeremy Taylor* as already related, we leave to stricter casuists to determine. If even so, the offence if confined to these instances, is by no means of an unpardonable kind.

Much discountenance of the just claims of Dr Franklin has been produced by the latitude of his opinions in regard to religion. The truth seems to be, that he tried creeds upon the same close principle of utility with which he tried everything else; and this is a test which doctrines and mysteries, are neither intended nor formed to encounter. To minds constructed like that of Franklin, mystery in fact is utterly repugnant, and scepticism is their refuge in respect to opinion; while on the score of utility, some mongrel system is adopted which promises to afford the necessary sanction to sound morality, which is or ought to be bestowed by religion. Franklin seems to have virtually acted upon something of the principle which has latterly been warmly adopted by an increasing sect of philosophers in France; that a religious sentiment is inherent in man, and so that it be suffi-

ciently developed to be restrictive upon vice, the form of worship and system of belief in which it displays itself is of the slightest possible consequence. Much may be and is said both for and against this theory. A specimen on each side may be furnished by the single observation, that it may have a tendency to impede the progress of civilization, as furthered by proselytism, while it otherwise operates to the diffusion of mutual tolerance and good will.

In concluding upon the character of Benjamin Franklin, it would be as unjust to shut our eyes to its grand aggregate value, as it would be trite and unphilosophic in an analysis of its component parts, to disregard the little shadows by which, in common with all human superiority, it is occasionally obscured; nor was he merely a great man in the abstract, but like George Washington, precisely such a great man as his country wanted. More dazzling qualities, in either, might have effected too little or too much; while the calm and steady prudence with which they kept pace with events, and made the best of circumstances, led to results as satisfactory as they were grand and surprising. In any country Franklin would have distinguished himself, and proved serviceable; but in America he was an active and congenial spirit, born for the times in which he lived, and for the illimitable advancement of his native land. It is with ineffable contempt we now read of the disregard shewn to the opinions and counsels of this eminent person, by the puny statesmen and courtiers who lost the colonies; and it is with similar sentiments all such shallow praters should be regarded, who still affect to suppose that real greatness cannot spring up out of the railways of accredited birth and peculiar education. Even the French revolution put a mark of reprobation upon this senseless arrogance; but that of America affords a loftier testimony, and no single individual acted more effectively, and at the same time more uprightly in the furtherance of that grand event, than he whose history we are now concluding.

It is for America to feel more especial gratitude on this score ; but it is for all the world to respect, and for the children of labour more directly to honour the man who rose from among themselves, to show the extent to which native strength of mind and general good conduct may occasionally exalt some of the humblest in society. No one, we repeat, can more merit their honest homage, than he who shews that there is no absolutely necessary connexion between manual industry and intemperance and ignorance ; and such a man, beyond all doubt or contradiction, was BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

The Way to Wealth, or Preliminary Address to the Pennsylvania Almanac, entituled "Poor Richard's Almanac for the year 1758."—Written by Dr Franklin.

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I concluded, at length, that the people were the best judges of my merit, for they buy my works; and, besides, in my rambles, where I am not personally known, I have frequently heard one or other of my adages repeated, with "As poor Richard says," at the end on't. This gave me some satisfaction, as it shewed not only that my instructions were regarded, but discovered likewise some respect for my authority; and I own, that, to encourage the practice of remembering and repeating those wise sentences, I have sometimes quoted myself with great gravity.

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"Pray, father Abraham, what think ye of the times? Won't these heavy taxes quite ruin the country? How shall we be ever able to pay them? What would you advise us to do?" Father Abraham stood up, and replied, "If you'd have my advice, I'll give it to you in short; 'for a word to the wise is enough; and many words won't fill a bushel,' as poor Richard says." They joined in desiring him to speak his mind; and, gathering round him, he proceeded as follows:—

"Friends (says he) and neighbours—The taxes are indeed very heavy; and if those laid on by the government were the only ones we had to pay, we might more easily discharge them; but we have many others, and much more grievous to some of us.—We are taxed twice as much by our idleness, three times as much by our pride, and four times as much by our folly; and from these taxes the commissioners cannot ease or deliver us, by allowing an abatement. However, let us hearken to good advice, and something may be done for us; 'God helps them that help themselves,' as poor Richard says in his Almanac.

"It would be thought a hard government that should tax its people one-tenth part of their time, to be employed in its service; but idleness taxes many of us much more, if we reckon all that is spent in absolute sloth, or doing of nothing, with that which is spent in idle employments, or amusements that amount to nothing. Sloth, by bringing on diseases, absolutely shortens life. 'Sloth, like rust, consumes faster than labour wears, while the key often used is always bright,' as poor Richard says. 'But dost thou love life?' then do not squander time, for that's the stuff life is made of,' as poor Richard says. How much more than is necessary do we spend in sleep! forgetting that 'the sleeping fox catches no poultry, and that there will be sleeping enough in the grave,' as poor Richard says. 'If time be of all things the most precious, wasting time must be (as poor Richard says) the greatest prodigality;' since, as he elsewhere tells us 'Lost time is never found again; and what we call time enough, always proves little enough.' Let us then up and be doing, and doing to the purpose; so by diligence shall we do more with less perplexity. 'Sloth makes all things difficult, but industry all easy,' as poor Richard says; and, 'he that riseth late must trot all day, and shall scarce overtake his business at night; while laziness travels so slowly, that poverty soon overtakes him,' as we read in poor Richard; who adds, 'Drive thy business, let not that drive thee;' and, 'Early to bed, and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise.'

"So what signifies wishing and hoping for better times? We make these times better if we bestir ourselves. 'Industry needs not wish,' as poor Richard says; and, 'He that lives upon hope will die fasting.' 'There are no gains without pains; then help, hands, for I have no lands; or if I have, they are smartly taxed;'—and (as poor Richard likewise observes,) 'He that hath a trade, hath an estate, and he that hath a calling, hath an office of profit and honour:' but then the trade must be worked at, and the calling well followed, or neither the estate nor the office will enable us to pay our taxes. If we are industrious, we shall never starve; for, as poor Richard says, 'At the working man's house hunger looks in, but dares not enter;' nor will the bailiff or the constable enter: for 'Industry pays debts, but despair increaseth them,' says poor Richard. What though you have found no treasure, nor has any rich relation left you a legacy: 'Diligence is the mother of good luck,' as poor Richard says; and 'God gives all things to industry; then plough deep while sluggards sleep, and you will have corn to sell and to keep,' says poor Dick. Work while it is called to-day, for you know not how much you may be hindered to-morrow: which makes poor Richard say, 'One to-day is worth two to-morrows;' and, further, 'Have you somewhat to do to-morrow, do it to-day.' 'If you were a servant, would you not be ashamed that a good master should catch you idle? Are you then your own master, be ashamed to catch yourself idle,' as poor Dick says. When there is so much to be done for yourself, your family, and your gracious king, be up by peep of day: 'Let not the sun look down, and say, Inglorious here he lies!' Handle your tools without mittens; remember that 'the cat in gloves catches no mice,' as poor Richard says. It is true, there is much to be done, and perhaps you are weak-handed; but stick to it steadily, and you will see great effects: for 'continual dropping wears away stones, and by diligence and patience the mouse ate into the cable; and light strokes fell great oaks,' as poor Richard says in his *Almanac*, the year I cannot just now remember.

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nothing will afford you more comfort than labour? No; for, as poor Richard says, 'Troubles spring from idleness, and grievous toils from needless ease: many without labour would live by their own wits only; but they break for want of stock.' Whereas industry gives comfort, and plenty, and respect. 'Fly pleasures, and they'll follow you; the diligent spinner has a large shift; and, now I have a sheep and a cow, every body bids me good-morrow;' all which is well said by poor Richard.

"But with our industry, we must likewise be steady, and settled, and careful, and oversee our own affairs with our own eyes, and not trust too much to others; for as poor Richard says,

'I never saw an oft-removed tree,
Nor yet an oft-removed family;
That throve so well as one that settled be.'

"And, again, 'Three removes are as bad as a fire;' and again, 'Keep thy shop, and thy shop will keep thee;' and again, 'If you would have your business done, go; if not, send.' And again,

'He that by the plough would thrive,
Himself must either hold or drive.'

And again, 'The eye of the master will do more work than both his hands;' and again, 'Want of care does us more damage than want of knowledge;' and again, 'Not to oversee workmen is to leave them your purse open.' Trusting too much to others' care is the ruin of many: for, as the Almanac says, 'In the affairs of the world, men are saved not by faith, but by the want of it;' but a man's own care is profitable; for, saith poor Dick, 'Learning is to the studious, and riches to the careful, as well as power to the bold, and heaven to the virtuous.' And, further, 'If you would have a faithful servant, and one that you like, serve yourself.' And again, he adviseth to circumspection and care, even in the smallest matters, because sometimes 'A little neglect may breed great mischief;' adding, 'For want of a nail the shoe was lost; for want of a shoe the horse was lost; and for want of a horse the rider was lost;' being overtaken and slain by an enemy, all for want of care about a horse-shoe nail.

"So much for industry, my friends, and attention to one's own business; but to these we must add frugality, if we would make our industry more certainly successful. A man may, if he knows not how to save as he gets, 'keep his nose all his life to the grindstone, and die not worth a groat at

last.' 'A fat kitchen makes a lean will,' as poor Richard says; and,

'Many estates are spent in the getting;
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ties were however useful without alloy, and in reference both to his scientific discoveries, and his literary efforts, they appear to great advantage. As a philosopher, and a philosophical friend, indeed, he shone with unqualified lustre. We have seen his efforts for the protection of science, during the horrors of war; and throughout the same stormy period, he kept up his intercourse with his friends in England, neither committing them with his political measures, nor involving them in his indignation at their country. His friendship with Mr Hartley, and the general kindness of his character were, as we have seen, the great means of restoring peace to a warring world. Whether we are to regard as slightly disingenuous his concealment of his occasional obligation to obsolete sources, as in his discovery of the effect of oil upon the waves, which he is suspected of having borrowed from a narration by the venerable Bede, and his Oriental Apologue, most certainly modified from the sketch of Jeremy Taylor as already related, we leave to stricter casuists to determine. If even so, the offence if confined to these instances, is by no means of an unpardonable kind.

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ciently developed to be restrictive upon vice, the form of worship and system of belief in which it displays itself is of the slightest possible consequence. Much may be and is said both for and against this theory. A specimen on each side may be furnished by the single observation, that it may have a tendency to impede the progress of civilization, as furthered by proselytism, while it otherwise operates to the diffusion of mutual tolerance and good will.

In concluding upon the character of Benjamin Franklin, it would be as unjust to shut our eyes to its grand aggregate value, as it would be trite and unphilosophic in an analysis of its component parts, to disregard the little shadows by which, in common with all human superiority, it is occasionally obscured; nor was he merely a great man in the abstract, but like George Washington, precisely such a great man as his country wanted. More dazzling qualities, in either, might have effected too little or too much; while the calm and steady prudence with which they kept pace with events, and made the best of circumstances, led to results as satisfactory as they were grand and surprising. In any country Franklin would have distinguished himself, and proved serviceable; but in America he was an active and congenial spirit, born for the times in which he lived, and for the illimitable advancement of his native land. It is with ineffable contempt we now read of the disregard shewn to the opinions and counsels of this eminent person, by the puny statesmen and courtiers who lost the colonies; and it is with similar sentiments all such shallow praters should be regarded, who still affect to suppose that real greatness cannot spring up out of the railways of accredited birth and peculiar education. Even the French revolution put a mark of reprobation upon this senseless arrogance; but that of America affords a loftier testimony, and no single individual acted more effectively, and at the same time more uprightly in the furtherance of that grand event, than he whose history we are now concluding.

It is for America to feel more especial gratitude on this score ; but it is for all the world to respect, and for the children of labour more directly to honour the man who rose from among themselves, to show the extent to which native strength of mind and general good conduct may occasionally exalt some of the humblest in society. No one, we repeat, can more merit their honest homage, than he who shews that there is no absolutely necessary connexion between manual industry and intemperance and ignorance ; and such a man, beyond all doubt or contradiction, was BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

APPENDIX.



APPENDIX.

No. I.

The Way to Wealth, or Preliminary Address to the Pennsylvania Almanac, entitled "Poor Richard's Almanac for the year 1758."—Written by Dr Franklin.

I HAVE heard, that nothing gives an author so great pleasure as to find his works respectfully quoted by other learned authors. This pleasure I have seldom enjoyed; for though I have been, if I may say it without vanity, an eminent author (of almanacs) annually now a full quarter of a century, my brother authors in the same way (for what reason I know not) have ever been very sparing in their applauses; and no other author has taken the least notice of me; so that, did not my writings produce me some solid pudding, the great deficiency of praise would have quite discouraged me.

I concluded, at length, that the people were the best judges of my merit, for they buy my works; and, besides, in my rambles, where I am not personally known, I have frequently heard one or other of my adages repeated, with "As poor Richard says," at the end on't. This gave me some satisfaction, as it shewed not only that my instructions were regarded, but discovered likewise some respect for my authority; and I own, that, to encourage the practice of remembering and repeating those wise sentences, I have sometimes quoted myself with great gravity.

Judge then how much I have been gratified by an incident which I am going to relate to you. I stopped my horse lately where a great number of people were collected at an auction of merchants' goods. The hour of sale not being come, they were conversing on the badness of the times; and one of the company called to a plain, clean, old man, with white locks,

"Pray, father Abraham, what think ye of the times? Won't these heavy taxes quite ruin the country? How shall we be ever able to pay them? What would you advise us to do?" Father Abraham stood up, and replied, "If you'd have my advice, I'll give it to you in short; 'for a word to the wise is enough; and many words won't fill a bushel,' as poor Richard says." They joined in desiring him to speak his mind; and, gathering round him, he proceeded as follows:—

"Friends (says he) and neighbours—The taxes are indeed very heavy; and if those laid on by the government were the only ones we had to pay, we might more easily discharge them; but we have many others, and much more grievous to some of us.—We are taxed twice as much by our idleness, three times as much by our pride, and four times as much by our folly; and from these taxes the commissioners cannot ease or deliver us, by allowing an abatement. However, let us hearken to good advice, and something may be done for us; 'God helps them that help themselves,' as poor Richard says in his Almanac.

"It would be thought a hard government that should tax its people one-tenth part of their time, to be employed in its service; but idleness taxes many of us much more, if we reckon all that is spent in absolute sloth, or doing of nothing, with that which is spent in idle employments, or amusements that amount to nothing. Sloth, by bringing on diseases, absolutely shortens life. 'Sloth, like rust, consumes faster than labour wears, while the key often used is always bright,' as poor Richard says. 'But dost thou love life? then do not squander time, for that's the stuff life is made of,' as poor Richard says. How much more than is necessary do we spend in sleep! forgetting that 'the sleeping fox catches no poultry, and that there will be sleeping enough in the grave,' as poor Richard says. 'If time be of all things the most precious, wasting time must be (as poor Richard says) the greatest prodigality;' since, as he elsewhere tells us 'Lost time is never found again; and what we call time enough, always proves little enough.' Let us then up and be doing, and doing to the purpose; so by diligence shall we do more with less perplexity. 'Sloth makes all things difficult, but industry all easy,' as poor Richard says; and, 'he that riseth late must trot all day, and shall scarce overtake his business at night; while laziness travels so slowly, that poverty soon overtakes him,' as we read in poor Richard; who adds, 'Drive thy business, let not that drive thee;' and, 'Early to bed, and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise.'

“ So what signifies wishing and hoping for better times ? We make these times better if we bestir ourselves. ‘ Industry needs not wish,’ as poor Richard says ; and, ‘ He that lives upon hope will die fasting.’ ‘ There are no gains without pains ; then help, hands, for I have no lands ; or if I have, they are smartly taxed ;’—and (as poor Richard likewise observes,) ‘ He that hath a trade, hath an estate, and he that hath a calling, hath an office of profit and honour :’ but then the trade must be worked at, and the calling well followed, or neither the estate nor the office will enable us to pay our taxes. If we are industrious, we shall never starve ; for, as poor Richard says, ‘ At the working man’s house hunger looks in, but dares not enter ;’ nor will the bailiff or the constable enter : for ‘ Industry pays debts, but despair increaseth them,’ says poor Richard. What though you have found no treasure, nor has any rich relation left you a legacy : ‘ Diligence is the mother of good luck,’ as poor Richard says ; and ‘ God gives all things to industry ; then plough deep while sluggards sleep, and you will have corn to sell and to keep,’ says poor Dick. Work while it is called to-day, for you know not how much you may be hindered to-morrow : which makes poor Richard say, ‘ One to-day is worth two to-morrows ;’ and, further, ‘ Have you somewhat to do to-morrow, do it to-day.’ ‘ If you were a servant, would you not be ashamed that a good master should catch you idle ? Are you then your own master, be ashamed to catch yourself idle,’ as poor Dick says. When there is so much to be done for yourself, your family, and your gracious king, be up by peep of day : ‘ Let not the sun look down, and say, Inglorious here he lies !’ Handle your tools without mittens ; remember that ‘ the cat in gloves catches no mice,’ as poor Richard says. It is true, there is much to be done, and perhaps you are weak-handed ; but stick to it steadily, and you will see great effects : for ‘ continual dropping wears away stones, and by diligence and patience the mouse ate into the cable ; and light strokes fell great oaks,’ as poor Richard says in his Almanac, the year I cannot just now remember.

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"But with our industry, we must likewise be steady, and settled, and careful, and oversee our own affairs with our own eyes, and not trust too much to others; for as poor Richard says,

'I never saw an oft-removed tree,
Nor yet an oft-removed family;
That thrive so well as one that settled be.'

"And, again, 'Three removes are as bad as a fire;' and again, 'Keep thy shop, and thy shop will keep thee;' and again, 'If you would have your business done, go; if not, send.' And again,

'He that by the plough would thrive,
Himself must either hold or drive.'

And again, 'The eye of the master will do more work than both his hands;' and again, 'Want of care does us more damage than want of knowledge;' and again, 'Not to oversee workmen is to leave them your purse open.' Trusting too much to others' care is the ruin of many: for, as the Almanac says, 'In the affairs of the world, men are saved not by faith, but by the want of it;' but a man's own care is profitable; for, saith poor Dick, 'Learning is to the studious, and riches to the careful, as well as power to the bold, and heaven to the virtuous.' And, further, 'If you would have a faithful servant, and one that you like, serve yourself.' And again, he adviseth to circumspection and care, even in the smallest matters, because sometimes 'A little neglect may breed great mischief;' adding, 'For want of a nail the shoe was lost; for want of a shoe the horse was lost; and for want of a horse the rider was lost;' being overtaken and slain by an enemy, all for want of care about a horse-shoe nail.

"So much for industry, my friends, and attention to one's own business; but to these we must add frugality, if we would make our industry more certainly successful. A man may, if he knows not how to save as he gets, 'keep his nose all his life to the grindstone, and die not worth a groat at

last.' 'A fat kitchen makes a lean will,' as poor Richard says; and,

'Many estates are spent in the getting;
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"Away then with your expensive follies, and you will not have much cause to complain of hard times, heavy taxes, and chargeable families; for, as poor Dick says,

'Women and wine, game and deceit,
Make the wealth small, and the want great.'

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ties were however useful without alloy, and in reference both to his scientific discoveries, and his literary efforts, they appear to great advantage. As a philosopher, and a philosophical friend, indeed, he shone with unqualified lustre. We have seen his efforts for the protection of science, during the horrors of war; and throughout the same stormy period, he kept up his intercourse with his friends in England, neither committing them with his political measures, nor involving them in his indignation at their country. His friendship with Mr Hartley, and the general kindness of his character were, as we have seen, the great means of restoring peace to a warring world. Whether we are to regard as slightly disingenuous his concealment of his occasional obligation to obsolete sources, as in his discovery of the effect of oil upon the waves, which he is suspected of having borrowed from a narration by the venerable Bede, and his *Oriental Apologue*, most certainly modified from the sketch of Jeremy Taylor as already related, we leave to stricter casuists to determine. If even so, the offence if confined to these instances, is by no means of an unpardonable kind.

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(as poor Richard says) put out the kitchen fire.'—These are not the necessities of life; they can scarcely be called the conveniencies; and yet, only because they look pretty, how many want to have them! The artificial wants of mankind thus become more numerous than the natural; and, as poor Dick says, 'For one poor person there are a hundred indigent.' By these and other extravagances, the genteel are reduced to poverty, and forced to borrow of those whom they formerly despised, but who, through industry and frugality, have maintained their standing;—in which case, it plainly appears, 'A ploughman on his legs is higher than a gentleman on his knees,' as poor Richard says. Perhaps they have had a small estate left them, which they knew not the getting of: they think 'It is day, and will never be night; that a little to be spent out of so much is not worth minding.' 'A child and a fool (as poor Richard says) imagine twenty shillings and twenty years can never be spent; but always to be taking out of the meal-tub, and never putting in, soon comes to the bottom:' then, as poor Dick says, 'When the well is dry they know the worth of water.' But this they might have known before, if they had taken his advice: 'If you would know the value of money, go and try to borrow some; for he that goes a borrowing, goes a sorrowing; and, indeed, so does he that lends to such people, when he goes to get it in again.' Poor Dick further advises, and says,

'Fond pride of dress is sure a very curse:
Ere fancy you consult, consult your purse.'

And again, 'Pride is as loud a beggar as Want, and a great deal more saucy.' When you have bought one fine thing, you must buy ten more, that your appearance may be all of a piece; but poor Dick says, 'It is easier to suppress the first desire, than to satisfy all that follow it.' And it is as truly folly for the poor to ape the rich, as the frog to swell in order to equal the ox.

'Vessels large may venture more,
But little boats should keep near shore.'

'Tis, however, a folly soon punished; for 'Pride that dines on vanity, sups on contempt,' as poor Richard says. And, in another place, 'Pride breakfasted with Plenty, dined with Poverty, and supped with Infamy.' And, after all, of what use is this pride of appearance, for which so much is risked, so much is suffered? It cannot promote health, or ease pain;

it makes no increase of merit in the person ; it creates envy ; it hastens misfortune.

'What is a butterfly ? at best,
He's but a caterpillar drest ;
The gaudy fop's his picture just,'

as poor Richard says.

"But what madness must it be to run in debt for these superfluities ! We are offered by the terms of this sale six months' credit, and that perhaps has induced some of us to attend it, because we cannot spare the ready money, and hope now to be fine without it. But, ah ! think what you do when you run in debt. You give to another power over your liberty. If you cannot pay at the time, you will be ashamed to see your creditor : you will be in fear when you speak to him ; you will make poor, pitiful, sneaking excuses, and by degrees come to lose your veracity, and sink into base, downright lying ; for, as poor Richard says, 'The second vice is lying ; the first is running in debt.' And again, to the same purpose, 'Lying rides upon Debt's back ;' whereas a free-born Englishman ought not to be ashamed nor afraid to speak to any man living. But poverty often deprives a man of all spirit and virtue : 'It is hard for an empty bag to stand upright,' as poor Richard truly says. What would you think of that prince, or that government, who would issue an edict, forbidding you to dress like a gentleman or gentlewoman, on pain of imprisonment or servitude ? Would you not say, that you were free, have a right to dress as you please, and that such an edict would be a breach of your privileges, and such a government tyrannical ? And yet you are about to put yourself under that tyranny when you run in debt for such dress ! Your creditor has authority, at his pleasure, to deprive you of your liberty, by confining you in gaol for life, or by selling you for a servant, if you should not be able to pay him. When you have got your bargain, you may, perhaps, think little of payment ; but 'Creditors (poor Richard tells us) have better memories than debtors ;' and in another place he says, 'Creditors are a superstitious sect, great observers of set days and times.' The day comes round before you are aware, and the demand is made before you are prepared to satisfy it. Or if you bear your debt in mind, the term which at first seemed so long, will, as it lessens, appear extremely short. Time will seem to have added wings to his heels as well as at his shoulders. 'Those have a short Lent (saith poor Richard) who owe money to be paid at Easter,' Then since, as he says, 'The

borrower is a slave to the lender, and the debtor to the creditor; disdain the chain, preserve your freedom, and maintain your independency: be industrious and free; be frugal and free. At present perhaps you may think yourselves in thriving circumstances, and that you can bear a little extravagance without injury; but,

‘For age and want save while you may,
No morning sun lasts a whole day,’

as poor Richard says. Gain may be temporary and uncertain; but ever while you live, expense is constant and certain: and ‘it is easier to build two chimneys, than to keep one in fuel,’ as poor Richard says. So ‘Rather go to bed supperless than rise in debt.’

‘Get what you can, and what you get hold,
’Tis the stone that will turn all your lead into gold,’

as poor Richard says. And when you have got the philosopher’s stone, sure you will no longer complain of bad times, or the difficulty of paying taxes.

“This doctrine, my friends, is reason and wisdom: but, after all, do not depend too much upon your own industry, and frugality, and prudence, though excellent things, for they may be blasted, without the blessing of heaven: and therefore ask that blessing humbly, and be not uncharitable to those that at present seem to want it, but comfort and help them. Remember, Job suffered, and was afterwards prosperous.

“And now, to conclude, ‘Experience keeps a dear school; but fools will learn in no other, and scarce in that; for it is true, we may give advice, but we cannot give conduct,’ as poor Richard says. However, remember this, ‘They that will not be counselled, cannot be helped,’ as poor Richard says; and further, that ‘If you will not hear Reason, she will surely rap your knuckles.’”

Thus the old gentleman ended his harangue. The people heard it, and approved the doctrine, and immediately practised the contrary, just as if it had been a common sermon; for the auction opened, and they began to buy extravagantly, notwithstanding all his cautions, and their own fear of taxes. I found the good man had thoroughly studied my Almanacs, and digested all I had dropped on those topics, during the course of twenty-five years. The frequent mention he made of me, must have tired every one else; but my vanity was wonderfully delighted with it, though I was conscious that not a tenth part of the wisdom was my own which he

ascribed to me, but rather the gleanings that I had made of the sense of all ages and nations. However, I resolved to be the better for the echo of it; and though I had first determined to buy stuff for a new coat, I went away, resolved to wear my old one a little longer.

Reader; if thou wilt do the same, thy profit will be as great as mine.

I am, as ever, thine to serve thee,
RICHARD SAUNDERS.

No. II.

*Extract of a Letter from Dr Franklin to the celebrated
Father Beccaria.*

PERHAPS, it may be agreeable to you, as you live in a musical country, to have an account of the new instrument lately added here to the great number that charming science was before possessed of.—As it is an instrument that seems peculiarly adapted to Italian music, especially that of the soft and plaintive kind, I will endeavour to give you such a description of it, and the manner of constructing it, that you, or any of your friends, may be enabled to imitate it, if you incline so to do, without being at the expense and trouble of the many experiments I have made in endeavouring to bring it to its present perfection.

You have doubtless heard the sweet tone that is drawn from a drinking-glass, by passing a wet finger round its brim. One Mr Puckeridge, a gentleman from Ireland, was the first who thought of playing tunes, formed of these tones. He collected a number of glasses of different sizes, fixed them near each other on a table, and tuned them by putting into them water, more or less, as each note required. The tones were brought out by passing his fingers round their brims.—He was unfortunately burned here, with his instrument, in a fire which consumed the house he lived in. Mr E. Delaval, a most ingenious member of our Royal Society, made one in imitation of it, with a better choice and form of glasses, which was the first I saw or heard. Being charmed with the sweetness of its tones, and the music he produced from it, I wished only to see the glasses disposed in a more convenient form, and brought together in a narrower compass, so as to admit of a greater number of tones, and all within

reach of the hand of a person sitting before the instrument, which I accomplished, after various intermediate trials, and less commodious forms, both of glasses and construction, in the following manner:—

The glasses are blown as near as possible in the form of hemispheres, having each an open neck, or socket in the middle. The thickness of the glass near the brim, about the tenth of an inch, or hardly quite so much, but thicker as it comes nearer the neck, which in the largest glasses is about an inch deep, and an inch and half wide within; these dimensions lessening as the glasses themselves diminish in size, except that the neck of the smallest ought not to be shorter than half an inch.—The largest glass is nine inches diameter, and the smallest three inches. Between these three are twenty-three different sizes, differing from each other a quarter of an inch in diameter.—To make a single instrument there should be at least six glasses blown of each size; and out of this number, one may probably pick thirty-seven glasses (which are sufficient for three octaves, with all the semi-tones) that will be each either the note one wants or a little sharper than that note, and all fitting so well into each other as to taper pretty regularly from the largest to the smallest. It is true there are not thirty-seven sizes, but it often happens that two of the same size differ a note or half-note in tone, by reason of a difference in thickness, and these may be placed one in the other without sensibly hurting the regularity of the taper form.

The glasses being chosen, and every one having marked with a diamond the note you intend it for, they are to be tuned by diminishing the thickness of those that are too sharp. This is done by grinding them round from the neck towards the brim, the breadth of one or two inches, as may be required; often trying the glass by a well-tuned harpsichord. When you come nearer the matter, be careful to wipe the glass clean and dry before each trial, because the tone is somewhat flatter when the glass is wet, than it will be when dry; and grinding very little between each trial, you will thereby tune to great exactness. The more care is necessary in this, because if you go below your required tone, there is no sharpening it again but by grinding somewhat off the brim, which will afterwards require polishing, and thus increase the trouble.

The glasses being thus tuned, you are to be provided with a case for them, and a spindle on which they are to be fixed. My case is about three feet long, eleven inches every way, wide within at the biggest end, and five inches at the smallest

end; for it tapers all the way, to adapt it better to the conical figure of the set of glasses. This case opens in the middle of its height, and the upper part turns up by hinges fixed behind. The spindle which is of hard iron, lies horizontally from end to end of the box within, exactly in the middle, and is made to turn on brass gudgeons at each end, and tapering to a quarter of an inch at the smallest.—A square shank comes from its thickest end through the box, on which a shank-wheel is fixed by a screw. This wheel serves as a fly to make the motion equable, when the spindle, with the glasses, is turned by the foot like a spinning-wheel. My wheel is of mahogany, eighteen inches diameter, and pretty thick, so as to conceal near its circumference about twenty-five pounds of lead.—An ivory pin is fixed in the face of this wheel, and about four inches from the axis. Over the neck of this pin is put the loop of the string that comes up from the moveable step to give it motion. The case stands on a neat frame with four legs.

To fix the glasses on the spindle, a cork is first to be fitted in each neck pretty tight, and projecting a little without the neck, that the neck of one may not touch the inside of another when put together, for that would make a jarring.—These corks are to be perforated with holes of different diameters, so as to suit that part of the spindle on which they are to be fixed. When a glass is put on, by holding it stiffly between both hands, while another turns the spindle, it may be gradually brought to its place, but care must be taken that the hole be not too small, lest in forcing it up the neck should split; nor too large, lest the glass not being firmly fixed should turn or move on the spindle, so as to touch and jar against its neighbouring glass. The glasses thus are placed one in another, the largest on the biggest end of the spindle, which is to the left hand; the neck of this glass is toward the wheel, and the next goes into it in the same position, only about half an inch of its brim appearing beyond the brim of the first; thus proceeding, every glass when fixed shews about an inch of its brim (or three-quarters of an inch, or half an inch, as they grow smaller) beyond the brim of the glass that contains it; and it is from these exposed parts of each glass that the tone is drawn, by laying a finger upon one of them as the spindle and glasses turn round.

My largest glass is G, a little below the reach of a common voice, and my highest G, including three complete octaves.—To distinguish the glasses the more readily to the eye, I have painted the apparent parts of the glasses within-

side, every semi-tone white, and the other notes of the octave with the seven prismatic colours, viz. C, red; D, orange; E, yellow; F, green; G, blue; A, indigo; B, purple; and C, red again:—so that glasses of the same colour (the white excepted) are always octaves to each other.

This instrument is played upon, by sitting before the middle of the set of glasses, as before the keys of a harpachord, turning them with the foot, and wetting them now and then with a sponge and clean water, and quite free from all greasiness; a little fine chalk upon them is sometimes useful, to make them catch the glass and bring out the tone more readily. Both hands are used, by which means different parts are played together.—Observe, that the tones are the best drawn out when the glasses turn *from* the ends of the fingers, not when they turn *to* them.

The advantages of this instrument are, that its tones are incomparably sweet beyond those of any other; that they may be swelled and softened at pleasure, by stronger or weaker pressures of the finger, and continued to any length; and that the instrument being once well tuned, never again wants tuning.

In honour of your musical language, I have borrowed from it the name of this instrument, calling it the Armonica.

With great esteem and respect,

I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

No. III.

Mr Strahan's Queries, and Dr Franklin's Answers.

DEAR SIR,—In the many conversations we have had together about our present disputes, we perfectly agreed in wishing they may be brought to a speedy and happy conclusion. How this is to be done is not so easily ascertained.

Two objects, I humbly apprehend, his majesty's servants have now in contemplation. 1st. To relieve the colonies from the taxes complained of, which they certainly had no hand in imposing. 2d. To preserve the honour, the dignity, and the supremacy of British legislature over all his majesty's dominions. As I know your singular knowledge of the subject in question, and am as fully convinced of your cordial attachment to his majesty, and your sincere desire to pro-

mote the happiness equally of all subjects, I beg you would in your own clear, brief, and explicit manner, send me an answer to the following questions: I make this request now, because this matter is of the utmost importance, and must now very quickly be agitated. And I do it with more freedom, as you know me and my motives too well, to entertain the most remote suspicion that I will make an improper use of any information you shall hereby convey to me.

1st. Will not a repeal of all the duties (that on tea excepted) which was paid before here on exportation, and, of course, no new imposition, fully satisfy the colonists? If you answer in the negative,

2d. Your reasons for that opinion?

3d. Do you think the only effectual way of composing the present differences, is to put the Americans precisely in the situation they were in before the passing of the late stamp act? If that is your opinion,

4th. Your reasons for that opinion?

5th. If this last method is deemed by the legislature, and his majesty's ministers, to be repugnant to their duty, as guardians of the just rights of the crown and of their fellow-subjects; can you suggest any other way of terminating these disputes, consistent with the ideas of justice and propriety conceived by the king's subjects on both sides of the Atlantic?

6th. And if this method was actually followed, do you not think it would actually encourage the violent and factious part of the colonists to aim at still farther concessions from the mother country?

7th. If they are relieved in part only, what do you, as a reasonable and dispassionate man, and equal friend to both sides, imagine will be the probable consequences?

The answer to these questions, I humbly conceive, will include all the information I want; and I beg you will favour me with them as soon as may be. Every well-wisher to the peace and prosperity of the British empire, and every friend to our truly happy constitution, must be desirous of seeing even the most trivial causes of dissension among our fellow-subjects removed. Our domestic squabbles, in my mind, are nothing to what I am speaking of. This you know much better than I do, and therefore I need add nothing further to recommend this subject to your serious consideration. I am, with the most cordial esteem and attachment, dear sir, your faithful and affectionate humble servant,

A. S.

ANSWER TO THE PRECEDING QUERIES.

Craven Street, Nov. 29th, 1769.

DEAR SIR,—Being just returned to town from a little excursion, I find yours of the 21st, containing a number of queries, that would require a pamphlet to answer them fully. You, however, desire only brief answers, which I shall endeavour to give.

Previous to your queries, you tell me that you apprehend his majesty's servants have now in contemplation, 1st. To relieve the colonists from the taxes complained of; to preserve the honour, the dignity, and the supremacy of the British legislature over all his majesty's dominions.—I hope your information is good; and that what you suppose to be in contemplation, will be carried into execution, by repealing all the laws that have been made for raising a revenue in America, by authority of parliament, without the consent of the people there. The honour and dignity of the British legislature will not be hurt by such an act of justice and wisdom. The wisest counsels are liable to be misled, especially in matters remote from their inspection. It is the persisting in an error, not the correcting it, that lessens the honour of any man, or body of men. The supremacy of that legislature, I believe, will be best preserved by making a very sparing use of it; never but for the evident good of the colonies themselves, or of the whole British empire; never for the partial advantage of Britain to their prejudice. By such prudent conduct, I imagine, that supremacy may be gradually strengthened, and in time fully established; but otherwise, I apprehend, it will be disputed, and lost in the dispute. At present the colonies consent and submit to it, for the regulations of a general commerce; but submission to acts of parliament was no part of their original constitution. Our former kings governed their colonies, as they governed their dominions in France, without the participation of British parliaments. The parliament of England never presumed to interfere in that prerogative, till the time of the great rebellion, when they usurped the government of all the king's other dominions, Ireland, Scotland, &c. The colonies that held for the king, they conquered by force of arms, and governed afterwards as conquered countries: but New England, having not opposed the parliament, was considered and treated as a sister-kingdom, in amity with England, (as appears by the journals, March 10, 1642).

1st. Will not a repeal of all the duties (that on tea excepted, which was before paid here on exportation, and of course no new imposition), fully satisfy the colonists?

Answer. I think not.

2nd. Your reasons for that opinion?

Answer. Because it is not the sum paid in that duty on tea, that is complained of as a burden, but the principle of the act, expressed in the preamble, *viz.* That those duties were laid for the better support of government, and the administration of justice in the colonies. This the colonists think unnecessary, unjust, and dangerous to their important rights. *Unnecessary*, because in all the colonies (two or three new ones excepted) government and the administration of justice were, and always had been, well supported without any charge to Britain: *unjust*, as it had made such colonies liable to pay such charge for others, in which they had no concern or interest: *dangerous*, as such mode of raising money for those purposes tended to render their assemblies useless; for if a revenue could be raised in the colonies for all the purposes of government by act of parliament, without grants from the people there, governors, who do not generally love assemblies, would never call them; they would be laid aside: and when nothing should depend on the people's good will to government, their rights would be trampled on; they would be treated with contempt. Another reason, why I think they would not be satisfied with such a partial repeal, is that their agreements, not to repeal till the repeal takes place, include the whole; which shews, that they object to the whole; and those agreements will continue binding on them, if the whole is not repealed.

3d. Do you think the only effectual way of composing the present differences, is to put the Americans precisely in the situation they were in before the passing of the late Stamp Act?

A. I think so.

4th. Your reasons for that opinion?

A. Other methods have been tried. They have been refused or rebuked in angry letters. Their petitions have been refused or rejected by parliament. They have been threatened with the punishments of treason by resolves of both houses. Their assemblies have been dissolved, and troops have been sent among them: but all these ways have only exasperated their minds, and widened the breach. Their agreements to use no more British manufactures have been strengthened; and these measures, instead of composing differences, and promoting a good correspondence, have al-

most annihilated your commerce with those countries, and greatly endanger the national peace and general welfare.

5th. If this last method is deemed by the legislature, and his majesty's ministers, to be repugnant to their duty as guardians of the just rights of the crown, and of their fellow-subjects, can you suggest any other way of terminating these disputes, consistent with the ideas of justice and propriety conceived by the king's subjects on *both* sides of the Atlantic ?

A. I do not see how that method can be deemed repugnant to the rights of the crown. If the Americans are put into their former situation, it must be by an act of parliament ; in the passing of which by the king, the rights of the crown are exercised, not infringed. It is indifferent to the crown, whether the aids received from America are granted by parliament here, or by the assemblies there, provided the quantum be the same ; and it is my opinion, that more will be generally granted there voluntarily, than can ever be exacted or collected from thence by authority of parliament. As to the rights of fellow-subjects, (I suppose you mean the people of Britain) I cannot conceive how those will be infringed by that method. They will still enjoy the right of granting their own money, and may still, if it pleases them, keep up their claim of granting ours ; a right they can never exercise properly, for want of a sufficient knowledge of us, our circumstances and abilities (to say nothing of the little likelihood there is we should ever submit to it) therefore a right that can be of no use to them ; and we shall continue to enjoy in fact the right of granting our money, with the opinion now universally prevailing among us, that we are free subjects to the king, and that fellow-subjects of one part of his dominions are not sovereigns over fellow-subjects in any other part. If the subjects on the different sides of the Atlantic have different and opposite ideas of "justice and propriety," no one "method" can possibly be consistent with both. The best will be, to let each enjoy their own opinions, without disturbing them, when they do not interfere with the common good.

6th. And if this method were actually allowed, do you not think it would encourage the violent and factious part of the colonists, to aim at still further concessions from the mother-country ?

A. I do not think it would. There may be a few among them that deserve the name of factious and violent, as there are in all countries ; but these would have little influence, if the great majority of sober reasonable people were satisfied.

If any colony should happen to think, that some of your regulations of trade are inconvenient to the general interest of the empire, or prejudicial to them without being beneficial to you, they will state these matters to parliament in petitions as heretofore ; but will, I believe, take no violent steps to obtain what they may hope for in time from the wisdom of government here. I know of nothing else they can have in view: the notion that prevails here, of their being desirous to set up a kingdom or commonwealth of their own, is to my certain knowledge entirely groundless. I therefore think, that on a total repeal of all duties, laid expressly for the purpose of raising a revenue on the people of America without their consent, the present uneasiness would subside ; the agreements not to import would be dissolved, and the commerce flourish as heretofore : and I am confirmed in this sentiment by all the letters I have received from America, and by the opinions of all the sensible people who have lately come from thence, crown-officers excepted. I know, indeed, that the people at Boston are grievously offended by the quartering of troops among them, as they think, contrary to law, and are very angry with the board of commissioners, who have calumniated them to government ; but as I suppose the withdrawing of these troops may be a consequence of reconciliating measures taking place ; and that the commission also will be either dissolved, if found useless, or filled with more temperate and prudent men, if still deemed useful and necessary ; I do not imagine these particulars would prevent a return of the harmony so much to be wished.

7th. If they are relieved in part only, what do you, as a reasonable and dispassionate man, and an equal friend to both sides, imagine will be the probable consequence ?

A. I imagine, that repealing the offensive duties in part will answer no end to this country ; the commerce will remain obstructed, and the Americans will go on with their schemes of frugality, industry, and manufactures, to their own great advantage. How much that may tend to the prejudice of Britain, I cannot say ; but perhaps not so much as some apprehend, since she may in time find new markets. But I think, if the union of the two countries continues to subsist, it will not hurt the general interest ; for whatever wealth Britain loses by the failing of its trade with the colonies, America will gain ; and the crown will receive equal aids from its subjects upon the whole, if not greater.

And now I have answered your questions, as to what may be, in my opinion, the consequences of this or that supposed measure, I will go a little farther, and tell you, what I fear

is more likely to come to pass in *reality*. I apprehend that the ministry, at least the American part of it, being fully persuaded of the right of parliament, think it ought to be enforced, whatever may be the consequences ; and at the same time do not believe there is even now any abatement of the trade between the two countries on account of these disputes ; or that, if there is, it is small, and cannot long continue. They are assured by the crown-officers in America, that manufactures are impossible there ; that the discontented are few, and persons of little consequence ; that almost all the people of property and importance are satisfied, and disposed to submit quietly to the taxing power of parliament ; and that, if the revenue-acts are continued, and those duties only that are called anti-commercial be repealed, and others perhaps laid in their stead, the power ere long will be patiently submitted to, and the agreements not to import be broken, when they are found to produce no change of measures here. From these and similar misinformations, which seem to be credited, I think it likely, that no thorough redress of grievances will be afforded to America this session. This may inflame matters still more in this country ; further rash measures there may create more resentment here, that may produce not merely ill-advised dissolutions of their assemblies, as last year, but attempts to dissolve their constitution ; more troops may be sent over, which will create more uneasiness ; to justify the measures of government, your writers will revile the Americans in your newspapers, as they have already begun to do, treating them as miscreants, rogues, dastards, rebels, &c., to alienate the minds of the people here from them, and which will tend further to diminish their affections to this country. Possibly too, some of their warm patriots may be distracted enough to expose themselves by some mad action to be sent for hither, and government here be indiscreet enough to hang them, on the act of Henry VIII. Mutual provocations will thus go on to complete the separation ; and instead of that cordial affection, which once so long existed, and that harmony, so suitable to the circumstances, and so necessary to the happiness, strength, safety, and welfare of both countries, an implacable malice and mutual hatred, such as we now see subsisting between the Spaniards and Portuguese, the Genoese and Corsicans, from the same original misconduct in the superior governments, will take place : the sameness of nation, the similarity of religion, manners, and language not in the least preventing in our case, more than it did in theirs.—I hope, however, that this may all prove false pro-

phocy, and that you and I may live to see as sincere and perfect a friendship established between our respective countries, as has so many years subsisted between Mr Strahan, and his truly affectionate old friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

No. IV.

Rules for reducing a Great Empire to a small one, presented to a late Minister, when he entered upon his Administration.

AN ancient sage valued himself upon this, that though he could not fiddle, he knew how to make a great city of a little one. The science, that I, a modern simpleton, am about to communicate, is the very reverse.

I address myself to all ministers who have the management of extensive dominions, which, from their very greatness, are become troublesome to govern—because the multiplicity of their affairs leave no time for fiddling.

I. In the first place, gentlemen, you are to consider, that a great empire, like a great cake, is most easily diminished at the edges. Turn your attention therefore first to your remotest provinces; that, as you get rid of them, the next may follow in order.

II. That the possibility of this separation may always exist, take special care the provinces are *never incorporated with the mother-country*: that they do not enjoy the same common rights, the same privileges in commerce, and that they are governed by severer laws, all of your enacting, without allowing them any share in the choice of the legislators. By carefully making and preserving such distinctions, you will (to keep my simile of a cake) act like a wise gingerbread baker, who, to facilitate a division, cuts his dough half through in those places, where, when baked, he would have it broken to pieces.

III. Those remote provinces have perhaps been acquired, purchased, or conquered, at the sole expense of the settlers or their ancestors, without the aid of the mother-country. If this should happen to increase her strength, by her growing numbers, ready to join in her wars; her commerce, by her growing demand for her manufactures; or her naval power, by greater employment for her ships

and seamen, they may probably suppose some merit in this; and that it entitles them to some favour; you are therefore to *forget it all, or resent it*, as if they had done you an injury. If they happen to be zealous whigs, friends of liberty, nurtured in revolution principles; remember all that to their prejudice, and contrive to punish it: for such principles, after a revolution is thoroughly established, are of no more use; they are even odious and abominable.

IV. However peaceably your colonies have submitted to your government, shown their affections to your interests, and patiently borne their grievances, you are to suppose them *always inclined to revolt*, and treat them accordingly. Quarter troops among them, who, by their insolence, may provoke the rising of mobs, and by their bullets and bayonets suppress them. By this means, like the husband who uses his wife ill from suspicion, you may in time convert your suspicions into realities.

V. Remote provinces must have governors and judges, to represent the royal person and execute everywhere the delegated parts of his office and authority. You, ministers, know, that much of the strength of government depends on the opinion of the people, and much of that opinion on the *choice of rulers* placed immediately over them. If you send them wise and good men for governors, who study the interests of the colonists, and advance their prosperity, they will think their king wise and good, and that he wishes the welfare of his subjects. If you send them learned and upright men for judges, they will think him a lover of justice. This may attach your provinces more to his government. You are therefore to be careful whom you recommend for those offices.—If you can find prodigals, who have ruined their fortunes, broken gamesters or stock-jobbers, these may do as well as governors, for they will probably be rapacious, and provoke the people by their extortions. Wrangling proctors and pettifogging lawyers too are not amiss, for they will be for ever disputing and quarrelling with their little parliaments. If withal they should be ignorant, wrong-headed and insolent, so much the better. Attorneys' clerks and Newgate solicitors will do for chief justices, especially if they hold their places during your pleasure, and all will contribute to impress those ideas of your government that are proper for a people you would wish to renounce it.

VI. To confirm these impressions, and strike them deeper, whenever the injured come to the capital with complaints of mal-administration, oppression or injustice,

punish such suitors with long delay, enormous expense, and a final judgment in favour of the oppressor. This will have an admirable effect every way. The trouble of future complaints will be prevented, and governors and judges will be encouraged to further acts of oppression and injustice, and thence the people may become more disaffected, and at length desperate.

VII. When such governors have crammed their coffers, and made themselves so odious to the people, that they can no longer remain among them with safety to their persons, *recall and reward* them with pensions. You may make them baronets too, if that respectable order should not think fit to resent it. All will contribute to encourage new governors in the same practice, and make the supreme government detestable.

VIII. If, when you are engaged in war, your colonies should vie in liberal aids of men and money against the common enemy upon your simple requisition, and give far beyond their abilities, reflect, that a penny taken from them by your power is more honourable to you, than a pound presented by their benevolence; *despise therefore their voluntary grants*, and resolve to harass them with *novel taxes*.—They will probably complain to your parliament, that they are taxed by a body in which they have no representative, and that this is contrary to common right. They will petition for redress. Let the parliament flout their claims, reject their petitions, refuse to suffer even the reading of them, and treat the petitioners with the utmost contempt. Nothing can have a better effect in producing the alienations proposed; for though many can forgive injuries, none ever forgive contempt.

IX. In laying these taxes, *never regard the heavy burdens* those remote people already undergo, in defending their own frontiers, supporting their own provincial government, making new roads, building bridges, churches, and other public edifices, which in old countries have been done to your hands, by your ancestors, but which occasion constant calls and demands on the purses of a new people.—Forget the restraint you lay on their trade for your benefit, and the advantage a monopoly of this trade gives your exacting merchants. Think nothing of the wealth those merchants and your manufacturers acquire by the colony commerce, their increased ability to pay taxes at home, their accumulating, in the price of their commodities, most of those taxes, and so *levying* them from their consuming customers: all this, and the employment and support of thousands of your

poor by the colonists, you are entirely to forget. But remember to make your arbitrary tax more grievous to your provinces by public declarations, importing, that your power of taxing them has *no limits*, so that when you take from them without their consent a shilling in the pound, you have a clear right to the other nineteen. This will probably weaken every idea of security in their property, and convince them, that under such a government they have nothing they can call their own ; which can scarce fail of producing the happiest consequences !

X. Possibly indeed some of them might still comfort themselves and say, "though we have no property, we have yet something left that is valuable, we have constitutional *liberty, both of person and conscience*. This king, these lords, and these commons, who it seems are too remote from us to know us and feel for us, cannot take from us our habeas corpus rights or our rights of trial by a jury of our neighbours : they cannot deprive us of the exercise of our religion, alter our ecclesiastical constitution, and compel us to be papists if they please, or Mahometans." To annihilate this comfort, begin by laws to perplex their commerce with infinite regulations, impossible to be remembered and observed : ordain seizures of their property for every failure, take away the trial of such property by jury, and give it to arbitrary judges of your own appointing, and of the lowest characters in the country, whose salaries and emoluments are to arise out of the duties or condemnations, and whose appointments are during pleasure. Then let there be a formal declaration of both houses, that opposition to your edicts is treason, and that persons suspected of treason in the provinces, may, according to some obsolete law, be seized and sent to the metropolis of the empire for trial ; and pass an act, that those, there charged with certain other offences, shall be sent away in chains from their friends and country, to be tried in the same manner for felony. Then erect a new court of inquisition among them, accompanied by an armed force, with instructions to transport all such suspected persons, to be ruined by the expense, if they bring over evidence to prove their innocence, or be found guilty and hanged, if they cannot afford it. And lest the people should think you cannot possibly go any farther, pass another solemn declaratory act, "that king, lords, and commons had, have, and of right ought to have full power and authority to make statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the unre-presented provinces *in all cases whatsoever*." This will include spiritual with temporal, and taken together must

operate wonderfully to your purpose, by convincing them, that they are at present under a power, something like that spoken of in the scriptures, which cannot only kill their bodies, but damn their souls to all eternity, by compelling them, if it pleases, to worship the devil.

XI. To make your taxes more odious, and more likely to procure resistance, send from the capital *a board of officers*, to superintend the collection, composed of the most indiscreet, ill-bred, and insolent you can find. Let these have large salaries out of the extorted revenue, and live in open, grating luxury upon the sweat and blood of the industrious, whom they are to worry continually with groundless and expensive prosecutions before the above-mentioned arbitrary revenue-judges; all at the cost of the party prosecuted, though acquitted, because the king is to pay no costs. Let these men, by your order, be exempted from all the common taxes and burdens of the province, though they and their property are protected by its laws. If any revenue-officers are suspected of the least tenderness for the people, discard them. If others are justly complained of, protect and reward them. If any of the under officers behave so as to provoke the people to drub them, promote them to better offices: this will encourage others to procure for themselves such profitable drubbings, by multiplying and enlarging such provocations, and all will work towards the end you aim at.

XII. Another way to make your tax odious is, *to misapply the produce of it*. If it was originally appropriated for the defence of the provinces, and the better support of government, and the administration of justice, where it may be necessary, then apply some of it for that defence, but bestow it, where it is not necessary, in augmenting salaries or pensions to every governor who has distinguished himself by his enmity to the people, and by calumniating them to their sovereign. This will make them pay it more unwillingly, and be more apt to quarrel with those that collect them, and all shall contribute to your own purpose, of making them weary of your government.

XIII. If the people of any province have been accustomed to support their own governors and judges to satisfaction, you are to apprehend that such governors and judges may be thereby influenced to treat the people kindly, and to do them justice. This is another reason for applying part of that resource in larger salaries to such governors and judges, given, as their commissioners are, during *your* pleasure only, forbidding them to take any salaries from their pre-

vinces ; that thus the people may no longer hope any kindness from their governors, or (in crown cases) any justice from their judges. And as the money, thus misapplied in one province, is extorted from all, probably all will resent the misapplication.

XIV. If the parliaments of your provinces should dare to claim rights, or complain of your administration, order them to be harassed with *repeated dissolutions*. If the same men are continually returned by new elections, adjourn their meetings to some country village, where they cannot be accommodated, and there keep them during pleasure ; for this, you know, is your prerogative, and an excellent one it is, as you may manage it, to promote discontents among the people, diminish their respect, and increase their disaffection.

XV. Convert the brave honest officers of your *navy* into pimping tidewaiters and colony-officers of the *customs*. Let those, who in time of war fought gallantly in defence of the commerce of their countrymen, in peace be taught to prey upon it. Let them learn to be corrupted by great and real smugglers ; but (to shew their diligence) scour with armed boats every bay, harbour, river, creek, cove or nook, throughout the coasts of your colonies ; stop and detain every coaster, every wood-boat, every fisherman, tumble their cargoes and even their ballast inside out, and upside down ; and if a pennyworth of pins is found unentered, let the whole be seized and confiscated. Thus shall the trade of your colonists suffer more from their friends in time of peace, than it did from their enemies in war. Then let these boats' crews land upon every farm in their way, rob their orchards, steal their pigs and poultry, and insult the inhabitants. If the injured and exasperated farmers, unable to procure other justice, should attack the aggressors, drub them, and burn their boats, you are to call this *high treason and rebellion*, order fleets and armies into their country, and threaten to carry all the offenders three thousand miles to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.—O ! this will work admirably.

XVI. If you are told of *discontents* in your colonies, never believe that they are general, or that you have given occasion for them ; therefore do not think of applying any remedy, or of changing any offensive measure. Redress no grievances, lest they should be encouraged to demand the redress of some other grievance. Grant no request that is just and reasonable, lest they should make another that is unreasonable. Take all your informations of the state of your colonies from your governors and officers in enmity

with them. Encourage and reward these leasing-makers, secrete their lying accusations, lest they should be confuted, but act upon them as on the clearest evidence, and believe nothing you hear from the friends of the people. Suppose all *their* complaints to be invented and promoted by a few factious demagogues, whom if you could catch and hang, all would be quiet. Catch and hang a few of them accordingly, and the blood of the martyrs shall work miracles in favour of your purpose.

XVII. If you see *rival nations* rejoicing at the prospect of your disunion with your provinces, and endeavouring to promote it, if they translate, publish and applaud all the complaints of your discontented colonists, at the same time stimulating you to severer methods, let not that alarm or offend you. Why should it—since you all mean the same thing?

XVIII. If any colony should *at their own charge erect a fortress*, to secure their ports against the fleets of a foreign enemy, get your governor to betray that fortress into your hands. Never think of paying what it cost the country; that would look, at least, like some regard for justice; but turn it into a citadel, to awe the inhabitants and curb their commerce. If they should have lodged in such fortress the very arms they bought and used to aid you in your conquests, seize them all; it will provoke, like ingratitude added to robbery. One admirable effect of these operations will be, to discourage every other colony from erecting such defences, and so their and your enemies may more easily invade them, to the great disgrace of your government, and of course the furtherance of your project.

XIX. Send armies into their country, under pretence of protecting the inhabitants; but, instead of garrisoning the forts on their frontiers with those troops, to prevent incursions, demolish those forts, and order the troops into the heart of the country, that the savages may be encouraged to attack the frontiers, and that the troops may be protected by the inhabitants; this will seem to proceed from your *ill will or your ignorance*, and contribute further to produce and strengthen an opinion among them, that you are no longer fit to govern them.

XX. Lastly, invest the general of your army in the provinces with great and unconstitutional powers, and free him from the control of even your own civil governors. Let him have troops enow under his command, with all the fortresses in his possession, and who knows but (like some provincial generals in the Roman empire, and encouraged

by the universal discontent you have produced) he may take it into his head to set up for himself? If he should, and you have carefully practised these few excellent rules of mine, take my word for it, all the provinces will immediately join him; and you will that day (if you have not done it sooner) get rid of the trouble of governing them, and all the plagues attending their commerce and connexion from thenceforth and for ever.

No. V.

Preliminaries of peace between Great Britain and the United States of America, signed at Paris, 30th November, 1782.

ARTICLES agreed upon by and between Richard Oswald, esq. the commissioner of his Britannic majesty, for treating of peace with the commissioners of the United States of America in behalf of his said majesty on one part, and John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Lawrens, four of the commissioners of the said states for treating of peace with the commissioner of his said majesty on their behalf on the other part, to be inserted in and constitute the treaty of peace proposed to be concluded between the crown of Great Britain and the said United States, but which treaty is not to be concluded till terms of peace should be agreed upon between Great Britain and France, and his Britannic majesty shall be ready to conclude such treaty accordingly. Whereas reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience are found by experience to form the only permanent foundation of a peace and friendship between states, it is agreed to form articles of the proposed treaty, on such principles of liberal equity and reciprocity as that, partial advantages (those seeds of discord) being excluded, such a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two countries may be established as to promise and secure to both perpetual peace and harmony.

I. His Britannic majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz., New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Providence Plantation, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be free, sovereign, and inde-

pendent states, that he treats with them as such, and for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquishes all claims to the government, proprietary, and territorial rights of the same and every part thereof, that all disputes which might arise in future on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared that the following are and shall be their boundaries, viz. :—

II. From the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, viz. that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of St Croix river to the highlands, along the said highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean to the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river; thence down along the middle of that river to the 45th degree of north latitude, from thence by a line due west on said latitude, until it strikes the river Iroquois or Calaraguy, thence along the middle of said river into Lake Ontario, through the middle of said lake until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and lake Erie, thence along the middle of said communication into the lake Erie, through the middle of said lake, until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and lake Huron, thence along the middle of the said water communication into the lake Huron, thence through the middle of the water communication between that lake and lake Superior, thence through lake Superior, northward of the isles Royal and Phelipeaux to the Long lake, thence through the middle of said Long lake, and the water communication between it and the lake of the Woods, to the said lake of the Woods, thence through the same lake to the most north-western point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the river Mississippi, thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude; south, by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of the line last mentioned in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the river Apalachicola or Catahouche, thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint river, thence straight to the head of St Mary's river, and thence down along the middle of St Mary's river to the Atlantic Ocean; east by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St Croix, from its mouth to the bay of Fundy to its source, and from its source directly north to the aforesaid highlands, which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic Ocean from those that fall into the river St Lawrence, comprehending all islands with-

in twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one part, and East Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the bay of Fundy and the Atlantic Ocean, excepting such islands as now are or heretofore have been within the limits of the said province of Nova Scotia.

III. It is agreed that the people of the United States shall continue to enjoy unmolested the right to take fish of any kind on the grand bank, and on all the other banks of Newfoundland, also in the gulph of St. Lawrence, and at all other places in the sea, where the inhabitants of both countries used at any time heretofore to fish. And also that the inhabitants of the United States shall have liberty to take fish of any kind on such part of the coast of Newfoundland as British fishermen shall use (but not to dry or cure the same on that island), and also on the coasts, bays, and creeks, of all other of his Britannic majesty's dominions in America, and that the American fishermen shall have liberty to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours, and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen islands, and Labrador, so long as the same remain unsettled, but so soon as the same or either of them shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such settlement, without a previous agreement for that purpose with the inhabitants, proprietors, or possessors of the ground.

IV. It is agreed that creditors on either side shall meet, with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in sterling money of all *bonâ fide* debts heretofore contracted.

V. It is agreed that the Congress shall earnestly recommend it to the legislatures of the respective States, to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights, and properties, which have been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects; and also of the estates, rights, and properties of persons resident in districts in the possession of his majesty's arms, and who have not borne arms against the said United States; and that persons of any other description shall have free liberty to go to any other part or parts of the Thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months unmolested in their endeavours to obtain the restitution of such of their estates, rights, and properties as may have been confiscated; and that Congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several States a reconsideration and revision of all acts or laws regarding the premises, so as to render the said laws or acts perfectly consistent, not only with justice and equity,

but with that spirit of conciliation which on the return of the blessings of peace should universally prevail. And that Congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several States, that the estates, rights, and properties, of such last-mentioned persons, shall be restored to them, they refunding to any persons who may be now in possession, the *bonâ fide* price (where any has been given) which such persons may have paid on purchasing any of the said lands, rights, or properties, since the confiscation.

And it is agreed that all persons who have any interest in confiscated lands, either by debts, marriage-settlements, or otherwise, shall meet with no lawful impediment in the prosecution of their just rights.

VI. That there shall be no future confiscations made, nor any prosecutions commenced against any person or persons for, or by reason of the part which he or they may have taken in the present war, and that no person shall on that account suffer any future loss or damage either in his person, liberty, or property, and that those who may be in confinement on such charges at the time of the ratification of the treaty in America, shall be immediately set at liberty, and the prosecution so commenced be discontinued.

VII. There shall be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic majesty and the said States, and between the subjects of the one and the citizens of the other; wherefore all hostilities both by sea and land shall then immediately cease; all prisoners on both sides shall be set at liberty, and his Britannic majesty shall with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction or carrying away any negroes or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all armies, garrisons, and fleets, from the said United States, and from every port, place, and harbour within the same; leaving in all fortifications the American artillery that may be therein. And shall also order and cause all archives, records, deeds, and papers, belonging to any of the said States, or their citizens, which in the course of the war may have fallen into the hands of his officers, to be forthwith restored and delivered to the proper States and persons to whom they belong.

VIII. The navigation of the river Mississippi from its source to the ocean, shall for ever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States.

IX. In case it should so happen that any place or territory belonging to Great Britain, or to the United States, should be conquered by the arms of either from the other,

before the arrival of these articles in America, it is agreed that the same shall be restored without difficulty and without requiring any compensation.

Done at Paris, November 30th, 1782.

Richard Oswald (L. S.)

John Adams (L. S.)

B. Franklin (L. S.)

John Jay (L. S.)

Henry Lawrens (L. S.)

Witness.—Caleb Whiteford, Secretary to the British Commission.

William Temple Franklin, Secretary to the American Commission.

SEPARATE ARTICLE.

It is hereby understood and agreed, that in case Great Britain, at the conclusion of the present war, shall recover, or be put in possession of West Florida, the line of North boundary between the said province and the United States shall be a line drawn from the mouth of the river Yassous, where it unites with the Mississippi, due east to the river Apalachicola.

Done at Paris, the thirtieth day of November, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two.

Richard Oswald (L. S.)

John Adams (L. S.)

B. Franklin (L. S.)

John Jay (L. S.)

Henry Lawrens (L. S.)

Attest.—Caleb Whiteford, Secretary to the British Commission.

Attest.—William Temple Franklin, Secretary to the American Commission.

No. VI.

The Definitive Treaty between Great Britain and the United States of America, signed at Paris, the third day of September, 1783.

In the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.

It having pleased the Divine Providence to dispose the hearts of the serene and most potent Prince, George the

Third, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Duke of Brunswick and Luneburg, Arch Treasurer and Prince Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, &c. and of the United States of America, to forget all past misunderstandings and differences that have unhappily interrupted the good correspondence and friendship which they mutually wish restored, and to establish such a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two countries upon the ground of reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience, as may promote and secure to both perpetual peace and harmony ; and having for this desirable end already laid the foundation of peace and reconciliation by provisional articles, signed at Paris on the 30th of November, 1782, by the commissioners empowered on each part, which articles were agreed to be inserted in, and to constitute the treaty of peace proposed to be concluded between the crown of Great Britain and the said United States, but which treaty was not to be concluded until terms of peace should be agreed upon between Great Britain and France, and his Britannic majesty should be ready to conclude such treaty accordingly ; and the treaty between Great Britain and France having since been concluded ; his Britannic majesty and the United States of America, in order to carry into full effect the provisional articles above-mentioned, according to the tenor thereof, have constituted and appointed, that is to say, his Britannic majesty on his part, David Hartley, esq. member of the parliament of Great Britain ; and the United States on their part, John Adams, esq., late a commissioner of the United States of America at the court of Versailles, late delegate in Congress from the state of Massachusetts, and chief justice of the said state, and minister plenipotentiary of the said United States to their high mightinesses the States-general of the United Netherlands ; Benjamin Franklin, esq., late delegate in Congress from the state of Pennsylvania, president of the convention of the said state of Pennsylvania, and minister plenipotentiary from the United States of America at the court of Versailles ; John Jay, esq., late president of Congress, and chief justice of the state of New York, and minister plenipotentiary from the said United States at the court of Madrid, to be the plenipotentiaries for the concluding and signing the present definitive treaty ; who after having reciprocally communicated their respective full powers, have agreed upon, and confirmed the following articles:—

Article X. The solemn ratification of the present treaty, expedited in good and due form, shall be exchanged between the contracting parties in the space of six months, or sooner if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty. In witness whereof, we the undersigned, their ministers plenipotentiary, have in their name, and virtue of our full powers, signed, with our hands, the present definitive treaty, and caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Paris, this third day of September, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

Signed, John Adams, (L. S.)
 B. Franklin, (L. S.)
 John Jay, (L. S.)
 David Hartley, (L. S.)

At the end of this treaty were added Mr Hartley's and the American minister's commission, and certified thus :

We certify the foregoing copies of the respective full powers to be authentic.

Signed, George Hammond,
 Secretary to the British commission.
 William Temple Franklin,
 Secretary to the American commission.

No. VII.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

"We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America."

ARTICLE I.

Sect. 1. All legislative powers herein granted, shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a senate and house of representatives.

Sect. 2. The house of representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qual-

qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the state in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative, and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one; Connecticut five; New York six; New Jersey four; Pennsylvania eight; Delaware one; Maryland six; Virginia ten; North Carolina five; South Carolina five; and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The house of representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Sect. 3. The senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

The vice-president of the United States shall be president of the senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of president of the United States.

The senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the president of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

Sect. 4. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year; and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Sect. 5. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each house may provide.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three

days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

Sect. 6. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same ; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time ; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

Sect. 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of representatives ; but the senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the house of representatives and the senate shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the president of the United States ; if he approve, he shall sign it ; but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the president within two days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be, in law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution or vote, to which the concurrence of the senate and house of representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the president of the United States ; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the senate, and

house of representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Sect. 8. The Congress shall have power—

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States:

To borrow money on the credit of the United States:

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes:

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States:

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and to fix the standard of weights and measures:

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States:

To establish post-offices and post-roads:

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries:

To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court:

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations:

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water:

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years:

To provide and maintain a navy:

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces:

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions:

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress:

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the con-

sent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings:—and

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Sect. 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

No capitation, or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the *census* or enumeration heretofore directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one state over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one state, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipt and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

Sect. 10. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, grant letters of marque and reprisal, coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin, or tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No state shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imports or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any states on imports or exports shall be for the use of the treasury of

the United States ; and such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

Article II.

Sect. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a president of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the vice-president, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the Congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each ; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate. The president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the house of representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for president ; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall in like manner choose the president. But in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote ; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the president, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the vice-president. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the senate shall choose from them by ballot the vice-president.

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the

electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the vice-president, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the president and vice-president, declaring what officer shall then act as president, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a president shall be elected.

The president shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the constitution of the United States."

Sect. 2. The president shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they

think proper, in the president alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The president shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Sect. 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Sect. 4. The president, vice-president, and all the civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

Article III.

Sect. 1. The judicial powers of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Sect. 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states, between a state and citizens of another state, between citizens of different states, between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such

exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Sect. 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

Article IV.

Sect. 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Sect. 2. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labour in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law, or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

Sect. 3. New states may be admitted by the Congress into this union; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory, or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this constitution shall be so constructed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

Sect. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every state in this union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

Article V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress ; provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth classes in the ninth section of the first article ; and that no state without its consent shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate.

Article VI.

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution as under the confederation.

This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land ; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States, and of the several states, shall be bound, by oath or affirmation, to support this constitution ; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

Article VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

DONE in convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

G. WASHINGTON, President,
And Deputy from Virginia.

New Hampshire, John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.

Massachusetts, Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.

Connecticut, W. S. Johnson, Roger Sherman.

New York, Alexander Hamilton.

New Jersey, W. Livingston, David Bearley, W. Patterson,
Jonathan Dayton.

Pennsylvania, B. Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris,
George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll,
James Wilson, Gouv. Morris.

Delaware, George Read, Gunning Bedford, junior, John
Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Brooks.

Maryland, James M. Henry, Dan. of St. Thomas Jenifer,
Daniel Carroll.

Virginia, John Blair, James Madison, junior.

North Carolina, William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight,
Hugh Williamson.

South Carolina, J. Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinkney,
Charles Pinkney, Pierce Butler.

Georgia, William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

Attest.—William Jackson, Secretary.

No. VIII.

An address to the public from the Pennsylvanian society for promoting the abolition of slavery and the relief of free Negroes, unlawfully held in bondage, &c.

IT is with peculiar satisfaction we assure the friends of humanity, that, in prosecuting the design of our association, our endeavours have proved successful, far beyond our most sanguine expectations.

Encouraged by this success, and by the daily progress of that luminous and benign spirit of liberty which is diffusing itself throughout the world, and humbly hoping for the continuance of the divine blessing on our labours, we have ventured to make an important addition to our original plan,

and do therefore earnestly solicit the support and assistance of all who can feel the tender emotions of sympathy and compassion, or relish the exalted pleasures of beneficence.

Slavery is such an atrocious debasement of human nature; that its very extirpation, if not performed with solicitous care, may sometimes open a source of serious evils.

The unhappy man, who has long been treated as a brute animal, too frequently sinks beneath the common standard of the human species. The galling chains that bind his body do also fetter his intellectual faculties, and impair the social affections of his heart. Accustomed to move like a mere machine by the will of a master, reflection is suspended; he has not the power of choice; and reason and conscience have but little influence over his conduct, because he is chiefly governed by the passion of fear. He is poor and friendless — perhaps worn out by extreme labour, pain, and disease.

Under such circumstances, freedom may often prove a misfortune to himself, and prejudicial to society.

Attention to emancipated black people, it is therefore to be hoped, will become a branch of our national police; but as far as we can contribute to promote this emancipation, so far that attention is evidently a serious duty incumbent on us, and which we mean to discharge to the best of our judgment and abilities.

To instruct, to advise, to qualify those who have been restored to freedom for the exercise and enjoyment of civil liberty, to promote in them habits of industry, to furnish them with employments suited to their age, sex, talents, and other circumstances, and to procure their children an education calculated for their future situation in life: these are the great outlines of the annexed plan, which we have adopted, and which we conceive will essentially promote the public good, and the happiness of those our hitherto too much neglected fellow-creatures.

A plan so extensive cannot be carried into execution without considerable pecuniary resources, beyond the present ordinary funds of the society. We hope much from the generosity of enlightened and benevolent freemen, and will gratefully receive any donations or subscriptions for this purpose, which may be made to our treasurer, James Starr, or to James Pemberton, chairman of our committee of correspondence.

Signed by order of the society,

B. FRANKLIN, President.

Philadelphia, Nov. 9, 1789.

PLAN FOR IMPROVING THE CONDITION OF THE
FREE BLACKS.

THE business relative to Free Blacks shall be transacted by a committee of twenty-four persons, annually elected by ballot, at the meeting of this society, in the month called April; and in order to perform the different services with expedition, regularity, and energy, this committee shall resolve itself into the following sub-committees, viz. :—

I.

A committee of inspection, who shall superintend the morals, general conduct, and ordinary situation of the free Negroes, and afford them advice and instruction, protection from wrongs, and other friendly offices.

II.

A committee of guardians, who shall place out children and young people with suitable persons, that they may (during a moderate time of apprenticeship or servitude) learn some trade or other business of subsistence. The committee may effect this partly by a persuasive influence on parents and the persons concerned; and partly by co-operating with the laws, which are, or may be enacted for this or similar purposes: in forming contracts on these occasions, the committee shall secure to the society, as far as may be practicable, the right of guardianship over the persons so bound.

III.

A committee of education, who shall superintend the school-instruction of the children and youth of the free blacks: they may either influence them to attend regularly the schools already established in this city, or form others with this view; they shall in either case provide, that the pupils may receive such learning as is necessary for their future situation in life; and especially a deep impression of the most important and generally-acknowledged moral and religious principles. They shall also procure and preserve a regular record of the marriages, births, and manumissions of all free blacks.

IV.

A committee of employ, who shall endeavour to procure constant employment for those free negroes who are able to work, as the want of this would occasion poverty, idleness.

and many vicious habits. This committee will by sedulous inquiry be able to find common labour for a great number; they will also provide for such as indicate proper talents, which may be done by prevailing upon them to bind themselves for such a term of years as shall compensate their masters for the expence and trouble of instruction and maintenance. The committee may attempt the institution of some useful and simple manufactures, which require but little skill, and also may assist, in commencing business, such as appear qualified for it.

Whenever the committee of inspection shall find persons of any particular description requiring attention, they shall immediately direct them to the committee, of whose care they are the proper objects.

In matters of a mixed nature, the committee shall confer, and, if necessary, act in concert. Affairs of great importance shall be referred to the whole committee.

The expence incurred by the prosecution of this plan shall be defrayed by a fund, to be formed by donations, or subscriptions, for these particular purposes, and to be kept separate from the other funds of this society.

The committee shall make a report of their proceedings, and of the state of their stock to the society, at their quarterly meetings, and in the months called April and October.

Philadelphia, 26th Oct. 1789.

No. IX.

SELECT BAGATELLES.

No. 1.

THE WHISTLE,

A true Story.—Written to his Nephew.

WHEN I was a child, at seven years old, my friends, on a holiday, filled my pockets with coppers. I went directly to a shop where they sold toys for children; and being charmed with the sound of a *whistle*, that I met by the way in the hands of another boy, I voluntarily offered him all my money for one. I then came home, and went whistling all over the house, much pleased with my *whistle*, but disturbing all the

family. My brothers, and sisters, and cousins, understanding the bargain I had made, told me I had given four times as much for it as it was worth. This put me in mind what good things I might have bought with the rest of the money; and they laughed at me so much for my folly, that I cried with vexation, and the reflection gave me more chagrin than the *whistle* gave me pleasure.

This, however, was afterwards of use to me, the impression continuing on my mind; so that often, when I was tempted to buy some unnecessary thing, I said to myself, *Don't give too much for the whistle*; and so I saved my money.

As I grew up, came into the world, and observed the actions of men, I thought I met with many, very many, who *gave too much for the whistle*.

When I saw any one too ambitious of court favours, sacrificing his time in attendance on levees, his repose, his liberty, his virtue, and perhaps his friends, to attain it, I have said to myself, *This man gives too much for his whistle*.

When I saw another fond of popularity, constantly employing himself in political bustles, neglecting his own affairs, and ruining them by that neglect, *He pays indeed*, says I, *too much for his whistle*.

If I knew a miser, who gave up every kind of comfortable living, all the pleasure of doing good to others, all the esteem of his fellow-citizens, and the joys of benevolent friendship, for the sake of accumulating wealth, *Poor man*, says I, *you do indeed pay too much for your whistle*.

When I meet a man of pleasure, sacrificing every laudable improvement of the mind, or of his fortune, to mere corporeal sensations, *Mistaken man*, says I, *you are providing pain for yourself instead of pleasure; you give too much for your whistle*.

If I see one fond of fine clothes, fine furniture, fine equipages, all above his fortune, for which he contracts debts, and ends his career in prison, *Alas!* says I, *he has paid dear, very dear, for his whistle*.

When I see a beautiful, sweet-tempered girl married to an ill-natured brute of a husband, *What a pity it is*, says I, *that she has paid so much for a whistle*.

In short, I conceived that great part of the miseries of mankind were brought upon them by the false estimates they had made of the value of things, and by their giving too much for their whistles.

No. 2.

A PETITION.

To those who have the Superintendency of Education.

I ADDRESS myself to all the friends of youth, and conjure them to direct their compassionate regards to my unhappy fate, in order to remove the prejudices of which I am the victim. There are twin sisters of us ; and the two eyes of man do not more resemble, nor are capable of being upon better terms with each other, than my sister and myself, were it not for the partiality of our parents, who made the most injurious distinctions between us. From my infancy I have been led to consider my sister as a being of a more elevated rank. I was suffered to grow up without the least instruction, while nothing was spared in her education. She had masters to teach her writing, drawing, music, and other accomplishments ; but if by chance I touched a pencil, a pen, or a needle, I was bitterly rebuked ; and more than once I have been beaten for being awkward, and wanting a graceful manner. It is true, my sister associated me with her upon some occasions ; but she always made a point of taking the lead, calling upon me only from necessity, or to figure by her side.

But conceive not, sirs, that my complaints are instigated merely by vanity ; no ; my uneasiness is occasioned by an object much more serious. It is the practice in our family, that the whole business of providing for its subsistence falls upon my sister and myself. If any indisposition should attack my sister—and I mention it in confidence upon this occasion, that she is subject to the gout, the rheumatism, and cramp, without making mention of other accidents—what would be the fate of our poor family ?—Must not the regret of our parents be excessive at having placed so great a difference between sisters who are so perfectly equal ? Alas ! we must perish from distress : for it would not be in my power even to scrawl a suppliant petition for relief, having been obliged to employ the hand of another in transcribing the request which I have now the honour to prefer to you.

Condescend, sirs, to make my parents sensible of the injustice of an exclusive tenderness, and of the necessity of distributing their care and affection among all their children equally,

I am, with a profound respect, Sirs,

Your obedient servant,

THE LEFT HAND.

No. 3.

MORALS OF CHESS.

PLAYING at chess is the most ancient and universal game known among men ; for its original is beyond the memory of history, and it has, for numberless ages, been the amusement of all the civilized nations of Asia, the Persians, the Indians, and the Chinese. Europe has had it above a thousand years ; the Spaniards have spread it over their part of America, and it begins to make its appearance in these States. It is so interesting in itself, as not to need the view of gain to induce engaging in it ; and thence it is never played for money. Those, therefore, who have leisure for such diversions, cannot find one that is more innocent ; and the following piece, written with a view to correct (among a few young friends) some little improprieties in the practice of it, shews at the same time, that it may, in its effects on the mind, be not merely innocent, but advantageous, to the vanquished as well as the victor.

The game of chess is not merely an idle amusement. Several very valuable qualities of the mind, useful in the course of human life, are to be acquired or strengthened by it, so as to become habits, ready on all occasions. For life is a kind of chess, in which we have points to gain, and competitors or adversaries to contend with, and in which there is a great variety of good and ill events, that are, in some degree, the effects of prudence or the want of it. By playing at chess, then, we learn,—

I. *Foresight*, which looks a little into futurity, considers the consequences that may attend an action : for it is continually occurring to the player, “ If I move this piece, what will be the advantage of my new situation ? What use can my adversary make of it to annoy me ? What other moves can I make to support it, and to defend myself from his attacks ? ”

II. *Circumspection*, which surveys the whole chess-board, or scene of action, the relations of the several pieces and situations, the dangers they are respectively exposed to, the several possibilities of their aiding each other, the probabilities that the adversary may take this or that move, and attack this or the other piece, and what different means can be used to avoid the stroke, or turn its consequences against him.

III. *Caution*, not to make our moves too hastily. This habit is best acquired by observing strictly the laws of the

game, such as, "If you touch a piece, you must move it somewhere; if you set it down you must let it stand;" and it is therefore best that these rules should be observed; as the game thereby becomes more the image of human life, and particularly of war; in which, if you have incautiously put yourself into a bad and dangerous position, you cannot obtain your enemy's leave to withdraw your troops, and place them more securely, but you must abide all the consequences of your rashness.

And, lastly, we learn by chess the habit of *not being discouraged by present bad appearances in the state of our affairs*, the habit of *hoping for a favourable change*, and that of *persevering in the search of resources*. The game is so full of events, there is such a variety of turns in it, the fortune of it is so subject to sudden vicissitudes, and one so frequently, after long contemplation, discovers the means of extricating one's self from a supposed insurmountable difficulty, that one is encouraged to continue the contest to the last, in hope of victory by our own skill, or at least of giving a stale mate, by the negligence of our adversary. And whoever considers, what in chess he often sees instances of, that particular pieces of success are apt to produce presumption, and its consequent, inattention, by which the loss may be recovered, will learn not to be too much discouraged by the present success of his adversary, nor to despair of final good fortune, upon every little check he receives in the pursuit of it.

That we may, therefore, be induced more frequently to choose this beneficial amusement, in preference to others, which are not attended with the same advantages, every circumstance which may increase the pleasure of it should be regarded; and every action or word that is unfair, disrespectful, or that in any way may give uneasiness, should be avoided, as contrary to the immediate intention of both the players, which is to pass the time agreeably.

Therefore, First, If it is agreed to play according to the strict rules, then those rules are to be exactly observed by both parties, and should not be insisted on for one side, while deviated from by the other—for this is not equitable.

Secondly, If it is agreed not to observe the rules exactly, but one party demands indulgences, he should then be as willing to allow them to the other.

Thirdly, No false move should ever be made to extricate yourself out of a difficulty, or to gain an advantage. There can be no pleasure in playing with a person once detected in such unfair practices.

Fourthly, If your adversary is long in playing, you ought not to hurry him, or to express any uneasiness at his delay. You should not sing, nor whistle, nor look at your watch, nor take up a book to read, nor make a tapping with your feet on the floor, or with your fingers on the table, nor do any thing that may disturb his attention. For all these things displease; and they do not shew your skill in playing, but your craftiness or your rudeness.

Fifthly, You ought not to endeavour to amuse and deceive your adversary, by pretending to have made bad moves, and saying that you have now lost the game, in order to make him secure and careless, and inattentive to your schemes; for this is fraud and deceit, not skill in the game.

Sixthly, You must not, when you have gained a victory, use any triumphing or insulting expression, nor shew too much pleasure; but endeavour to console your adversary, and make him less dissatisfied with himself, by every kind of civil expression that may be used with truth; such as, "You understand the game better than I, but you are a little inattentive; or, you play too fast; or, you had the best of the game, but something happened to divert your thoughts, and that turned it in my favour."

Seventhly, If you are a spectator while others play, observe the most perfect silence. For if you give advice, you offend both parties; him against whom you give it, because it may cause the loss of his game; and him, in whose favour you give it, because though it be good, and he follows it, he loses the pleasure he might have had, if you had permitted him to think until it had occurred to himself. Even after a move, or moves, you must not, by replacing the pieces, shew how it might have been placed better; for that displeases, and may occasion disputes and doubts about their true situation. All talking to the players lessens or diverts their attention, and is therefore displeasing. Nor should you give the least hint to either party, by any kind of noise or motion. If you do, you are unworthy to be a spectator. If you have a mind to exercise or show your judgment, do it in playing your own game, when you have an opportunity, not in criticising, or meddling with, or counselling the play of others.

Lastly, If the game is not to be played rigorously, according to the rules above-mentioned, then moderate your desire of victory over your adversary, and be pleased with one over yourself. Snatch not eagerly at every advantage offered by his unskilfulness or inattention; but point out to him kindly, that by such a move he places or leaves a piece in danger and

unsupported; that by another he will put his king in a perilous situation, &c. By this generous civility (so opposite to the unfairness above forbidden) you may, indeed, happen to lose the game to your opponent, but you will win what is better, his esteem, his respect, and his affection; together with the silent approbation and good-will of impartial spectators.

No. 4.

THE ART OF PROCURING PLEASANT
DREAMS.

*Inscribed to Miss * * *,*

BEING WRITTEN AT HER REQUEST.

As a great part of our life is spent in sleep, during which we have sometimes pleasing and sometimes painful dreams, it becomes of some consequence to obtain the one kind, and avoid the other; for whether real or imaginary, pain is pain, and pleasure is pleasure. If we can sleep without dreaming, it is well that painful dreams are avoided. If, while we sleep, we can have any pleasing dreams, it is, as the French say, *tant gagné*, so much added to the pleasure of life.

To this end it is, in the first place, necessary to be careful in preserving health, by due exercise and great temperance; for, in sickness, the imagination is disturbed; and disagreeable, sometimes terrible, ideas are apt to present themselves. Exercise should precede meals, not immediately follow them: the first promotes, the latter, unless moderate, obstructs digestion. If after exercise we feed sparingly, the digestion will be easy and good, the body lightsome, the temper cheerful, and all the animal functions performed agreeably. Sleep, when it follows, will be natural and undisturbed. While indolence, with full feeding, occasions night-mares and horrors inexpressible: we fall from precipices, are assaulted by wild beasts, murderers, and demons, and experience every variety of distress. Observe, however, that the quantities of food and exercise are relative things: those who move much may, and indeed ought, to eat more; those who use little exercise, should eat little. In general, mankind, since the improvement of cookery, eat about twice as much as nature requires. Suppers are not bad, if we have not dined; but restless nights naturally follow hearty suppers, after full

dinners. Indeed, as there is a difference in constitutions, some rest well after these meals; it costs them only a frightful dream and an apoplexy, after which they sleep till doomsday. Nothing is more common in the newspapers, than instances of people, who, after eating a hearty supper, are found dead a-bed in the morning.

Another means of preserving health, to be attended to, is the having a constant supply of fresh air in your bed-chamber. It has been a great mistake, the sleeping in rooms exactly closed, and in beds surrounded by curtains. No outward air that may come in to you, is so unwholesome as the unchanged air, often breathed, of a close chamber. As boiling water does not grow hotter by longer boiling, if the particles that receive greater heat can escape; so living bodies do not putrify, if the particles, as fast as they become putrid, can be thrown off. Nature expels them by the pores of the skin and lungs, and in a free open air they are carried off; but in a close room, we receive them again and again, though they become more and more corrupt. A number of persons crowded into a small room, thus spoil the air in a few minutes, and even render it mortal, as in the Black Hole at Calcutta. A single person is said to spoil a gallon of air per minute, and therefore requires a longer time to spoil a chamberful; but it is done, however, in proportion, and many putrid disorders have hence their origin. It is recorded of Methusaleh, who, being the longest liver, may be supposed to have best preserved his health, that he slept always in the open air: for, when he had lived five hundred years, an angel said to him, "Arise, Methusaleh, and build thee an house, for thou shalt live yet five hundred years longer." But Methusaleh answered and said; If I am to live but five hundred years longer, it is not worth while to build me an house—I will sleep in the air as I have been used to do." Physicians, after having for ages contended that the sick should not be indulged with fresh air, have at length discovered that it may do them good. It is therefore to be hoped, that they may in time discover likewise, that it is not hurtful to those who are in health; and that we may then be cured of the *airophobia* that at present distresses weak minds, and makes them choose to be stifled and poisoned, rather than leave open the window of a bed-chamber, or put down the glass of a coach.

Confined air, when saturated with perspirable matter*,

* What physicians call the perspirable matter, is that vapour which passes off from our bodies, from the lungs and through the pores of the skin. The quantity of this is said to be five-eighths of what we eat.

will not receive more ; and that matter must remain in our bodies, and occasion diseases : but it gives some previous notice of its being about to be hurtful, by producing certain uneasinesses, slight indeed at first, such as, with regard to the lungs, is a trifling sensation, and to the pores of the skin a kind of restlessness which is difficult to describe, and few that feel it know the cause of it. But we may recollect that sometimes, on waking in the night, we have, if warmly covered, found it difficult to get to sleep again. We turn often, without finding repose in any position. This fidgetiness, to use a vulgar expression for want of a better, is occasioned wholly by an uneasiness in the skin, owing to the retention of the perspirable matter—the bed-clothes having received their quantity, and, being saturated, refusing to take any more. To become sensible of this by an experiment, let a person keep his position in the bed, but throw off the bed-clothes, and suffer fresh air to approach the part uncovered of his body ; he will then feel that part suddenly refreshed : for the air will immediately relieve the skin, by receiving, licking up, and carrying off, the load of perspirable matter that incommoded it. For every portion of cool air that approaches the warm skin, in receiving its part of that vapour, receives therewith a degree of heat, that rarefies and renders it lighter, when it will be pushed away, with its burden, by cooler and therefore heavier fresh air ; which, for a moment supplies its place, and then, being likewise changed, and warmed, gives way to a succeeding quantity. This is the order of nature, to prevent animals being infected by their own perspiration. He will now be sensible of the difference between the part exposed to the air, and that which, remaining sunk in the bed, denies the air access : for this part now manifests its uneasiness more distinctly by the comparison, and the seat of the uneasiness is more plainly perceived, than when the whole surface of the body was affected by it.

Here then is one great and general cause of unpleasant dreams. For when the body is uneasy, the mind will be disturbed by it, and disagreeable ideas of various kinds will, in sleep, be the natural consequences. The remedies, preventive and curative, follow :

1. By eating moderately (as before advised for health's sake) less perspirable matter is produced in a given time ; hence the bed-clothes receive it longer before they are saturated ; and we may, therefore, sleep longer, before we are made uneasy by their refusing to receive any more.

2. By using thinner and more porous bed-clothes, which

will suffer the perspirable matter more easily to pass through them, we are less incommoded, such being longer tolerable.

3. When you are awakened by this uneasiness, and find you cannot easily sleep again, get out of bed, beat up and turn your pillow, shake the bed-clothes well, with at least twenty shakes, then throw the bed open, and leave it to cool ; in the meanwhile, continuing undrest, walk about your chamber, till your skin has had time to discharge its load, which it will do sooner as the air may be drier and colder. When you begin to feel the cold air unpleasant, then return to your bed ; and you will soon fall asleep, and your sleep will be sweet and pleasant. All the scenes presented to your fancy will be of the pleasing kind. I am often as agreeably entertained with them, as by the scenery of an opera. If you happen to be too indolent to get out of bed, you may, instead of it, lift up your bed-clothes with one arm and leg, so as to draw in a good deal of fresh air, and, by letting them fall, force it out again ; this, repeated twenty times, will so clear them of the perspirable matter they have imbibed, as to permit your sleeping well for some time afterwards. But this latter method is not equal to the former.

Those who do not love trouble, and can afford to have two beds, will find great luxury in rising, when they wake in a hot bed, and going into the cool one. Such shifting of beds would also be of great service to persons ill of a fever, as it refreshes and frequently procures sleep. A very large bed, that will admit a removal so distant from the first situation as to be cool and sweet, may in a degree answer the same end.

One or two observations more will conclude this little piece. Care must be taken, when you lie down, to dispose your pillow so as to suit your manner of placing your head, and to be perfectly easy ; then place your limbs so as not to bear inconveniently hard upon one another ; as for instance, the joints of your ancles : for though a bad position may at first give but little pain, and be hardly noticed, yet a continuance will render it less tolerable, and the uneasiness may come on while you are asleep, and disturb your imagination.

These are the rules of the art. But though they will generally prove effectual in producing the end intended, there is a case in which the most punctual observance of them will be totally fruitless. I need not mention the case to you, my dear friend ; but my account of the art would be imperfect without it. The case is, when the person who

desires to have the pleasant dreams has not taken care to preserve, what is necessary above all things,

A GOOD CONSCIENCE.

No. 5.

ADVICE TO A YOUNG TRADESMAN.

Written, anno 1748.

TO MY FRIEND, A. B.

As you have desired it of me, I write the following hints, which have been of service to me, and may, if observed, be so to you.

REMEMBER that *time* is money. He that can earn ten shillings a-day by his labour, and goes abroad, or sits idle one half of that day, though he spends but sixpence during his diversion or idleness, ought not to reckon *that* the only expense ; he has really spent, or rather thrown away, five shillings besides.

Remember that *credit* is money. If a man let his money lie in my hands after it is due, he gives me the interest, or so much as I can make of it during that time. This amounts to a considerable sum where a man has good and large credit, and makes good use of it.

Remember that money is of a prolific, generating nature. Money can beget money, and its offspring can beget more, and so on. Five shillings turned is six ; turned again it is seven and threepence ; and so on till it becomes an hundred pounds. The more there is of it, the more it produces every turning, so that the profits rise quicker and quicker. He that kills a breeding sow, destroys all her offspring to the thousandth generation. He that murders a crown, destroys all that it might have produced, even scores of pounds.

Remember that six pounds a-year is but a groat a-day. For this little sum, (which may be daily wasted, either in time or expense, unperceived) a man of credit may, on his own security, have the constant possession and use of an hundred pounds. So much in stock, briskly turned by an industrious man, produces great advantage.

Remember this saying, "The good pay-master is lord of another man's purse." He that is known to pay punctually and exactly to the time he promises, may at any time, and on any occasion, raise all the money his friends can spare. This is sometimes of great use. After industry and frugality, nothing contributes more to the raising of a young man in the world, than punctuality and justice in all his dealings: therefore never keep borrowed money an hour beyond the time you promised, lest a disappointment shut up your friend's purse for ever.

The most trifling actions that affect a man's credit are to be regarded. The sound of your hammer at five in the morning, or nine at night, heard by a creditor, makes him easy six months longer; but if he see you at a billiard-table, or hear your voice at a tavern, when you should be at work, he sends for his money the next day; demands it before he can receive it in a lump.

It shews, besides, that you are mindful of what you owe; it makes you appear a careful, as well as an honest man, and that still increases your credit.

Beware of thinking all your own that you possess, and of living accordingly. It is a mistake that many people who have credit fall into. To prevent this, keep an exact account, for some time, both of your expenses and your income. If you take the pains at first to mention particulars, it will have this good effect; you will discover how wonderfully small trifling expenses mount up to large sums, and will discern what might have been, and may for the future be saved, without occasioning any great inconveniences.

In short, the way to wealth, if you desire it, is as plain as the way to market. It depends chiefly on two words, *industry* and *frugality*; that is, waste neither *time* nor *money*, but make the best use of both. Without industry and frugality nothing will do, and with them everything. He that gets all he can honestly, and saves all he gets (necessary expenses excepted) will certainly become *rich*—if that *Being*, who governs the world, to whom all should look for a blessing on their honest endeavours, do not, in his wise providence, otherwise determine.

AN OLD TRADESMAN.

No. 6.

NECESSARY HINTS TO THOSE THAT WOULD
BE RICH.*Written anno 1736.]*

THE use of money is all the advantage there is in having money.

For six pounds a-year you may have the use of one hundred pounds, provided you are a man of known prudence and honesty.

He that spends a groat a-day idly, spends idly above six pounds a-year, which is the price for the use of one hundred pounds.

He that wastes idly a groat's worth of his time per day, one day with another, wastes the privilege of using one hundred pounds each day.

He that idly loses five shillings worth of time, loses five shillings, and might as prudently throw five shillings into the sea.

He that loses five shillings, not only loses that sum, but all the advantages that might be made by turning it in dealing; which, by the time that a young man becomes old, will amount to a considerable sum of money.

Again; he that sells upon credit, asks a price for what he sells equivalent to the principal and interest of his money for the time he is to be kept out of it; therefore, he that buys upon credit, pays interest for what he buys; and he that pays ready money, might let that money out to use; so that he that possesses anything he has bought, pays interest for the use of it.

Yet, in buying goods, it is best to pay ready money, because, he that sells upon credit, expects to lose five per cent. by bad debts; therefore he charges, on all he sells upon credit, an advance that shall make up that deficiency.

Those who pay for what they buy upon credit, pay their share of this advance.

He that pays ready money, escapes, or may escape that charge.

A penny sav'd is two-pence clear,
A pin a-day 's a groat a year.

No. 7.

THE WAY TO MAKE MONEY PLENTY IN
EVERY MAN'S POCKET.

At this time, when the general complaint is that—"money is scarce," it will be an act of kindness to inform the moneyless how they may reinforce their pockets. I will acquaint them with the true secret of money-catching—the certain way to fill empty purses—and how to keep them always full. Two simple rules, well observed, will do the business.

First, Let honesty and industry be thy constant companions, and

Secondly, Spend one penny less than thy clear gains.

Then shall thy hide-bound pocket soon begin to thrive, and will never again cry with the empty belly-ach: neither will creditors insult thee, nor want oppress, nor hunger bite, nor nakedness freeze thee. The whole hemisphere will shine brighter, and pleasure spring up in every corner of thy heart. Now, therefore, embrace these rules and be happy. Banish the bleak winds of sorrow from thy mind, and live independent. Then shalt thou be a man, and not hide thy face at the approach of the rich, nor suffer the pain of feeling little when the sons of fortune walk at thy right hand: for independency, whether with little or much, is good fortune, and places thee on even ground with the proudest of the golden fleece. Oh, then, be wise, and let industry walk with thee in the morning, and attend thee until thou reachest the evening hour for rest. Let honesty be as the breath of thy soul, and never forget to have a penny, when all thy expenses are enumerated and paid: then shalt thou reach the point of happiness, and independence shall be thy shield and buckler, thy helmet and crown; then shall thy soul walk upright, nor stoop to the silken wretch because he hath riches, nor pocket an abuse because the hand which offers it wears a ring set with diamonds.

No. X.

POLITICAL FRAGMENTS.

No. 1.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE HIGHEST COURT OF JUDICATURE
IN PENNSYLVANIA, VIZ.,

THE COURT OF THE PRESS.

Power of this court.

It may receive and promulgate accusations of all kinds, against all persons and characters among the citizens of the state, and against all inferior courts; and may judge, sentence, and condemn to infamy, not only private individuals, but public bodies, &c., with or without inquiry or hearing, at the court's discretion.

Whose favour, or for whose emolument this court is established.

In favour of about one citizen in five hundred, who, by education, or practice in scribbling, has acquired a tolerable style as to grammar and construction, so as to bear printing; or who is possessed of a press and a few types. This five-hundredth part of the citizens have the liberty of accusing and abusing the other four-hundred and ninety-nine parts at their pleasure; or they may hire out their pens and press to others for that purpose.

Practice of this court.

It is not governed by any of the rules of the common courts of law. The accused is allowed no grand jury to judge of the truth of the accusation before it is publicly made; nor is the name of the accuser made known to him, nor has he an opportunity of confronting the witnesses against him, for they are kept in the dark, as in the Spanish court of inquisition. Nor is there any petty jury of his peers sworn to try the truth of the charges. The proceedings are also sometimes so rapid, that an honest good citizen may find himself suddenly and unexpectedly accused, and in the same moment judged and condemned, and sentence pronounced against him that he is a rogue and a villain. Yet

if an officer of this court receive the slightest check for misconduct in this his office, he claims the rights of a free citizen by the constitution, and demands to know his accuser, to confront the witnesses, and have a fair trial by the jury of his peers.

The foundation of its authority.

It is said to be founded on an article in the state constitution, which establishes the liberty of the press—a liberty which every Pennsylvanian would fight and die for, though few of us, I believe, have distinct ideas of its nature and extent. It seems, indeed, somewhat like the liberty of the press, that felons have by the common law of England before conviction; that is, to be either pressed to death or hanged. If by the liberty of the press, we understand merely the liberty of discussing the propriety of public measures and political opinions, let us have as much of it as you please; but, if it means the liberty of affronting, calumniating, and defaming one another, I, for my part, own myself willing to part with my share of it whenever our legislators shall please to alter the law; and shall cheerfully consent to exchange my liberty of abusing others, for the privilege of not being abused myself.

By whom this court is commissioned or constituted.

It is not by any commission from the supreme executive council, who might previously judge of the abilities, integrity, knowledge, &c. of the persons to be appointed to this great trust, of deciding upon the characters and good fame of the citizens: for this court is above that council, and may accuse, judge, and condemn it at pleasure. Nor is it hereditary, as is the court of dernier resort in the peerage of England. But any man who can procure pen, ink, and paper, with a press, a few types, and a huge pair of blacking balls, may commissionate himself, and his court is immediately established in the plenary possession and exercise of its rights; for if you make the least complaint of the judge's conduct, he daubs his blacking balls in your face wherever he meets you; and besides tearing your private character to splinters, marks you out for the odium of the public, as an enemy to the liberty of the press.

Of the natural support of this court.

Its support is founded in the depravity of such minds as have not been mended by religion, nor improved by good education.

There is a lust in man no charm can tame,
Of loudly publishing his neighbour's shame.

Hence,

On eagle's wings immortal scandals fly,
While virtuous actions are but born and die.

DRYDEN.

Whoever feels pain in hearing a good character of his neighbour, will feel a pleasure in the reverse. And of those who, despairing to rise in distinction by their virtues, are happy if others can be depressed to a level with themselves, there are a number sufficient in every great town to maintain one of these courts by subscription. A shrewd observer once said, that in walking the streets of a slippery morning, one might see where the good-natured people lived, by the ashes thrown on the ice before the doors: probably he would have formed a different conjecture of the temper of those whom he might find engaged in such subscriptions.

Of the checks proper to be established against the abuses of power in those courts.

Hitherto there are none. But since so much has been written and published on the federal constitution; and the necessity of checks in all parts of good government, has been so clearly and learnedly explained, I find myself so far enlightened as to suspect some check may be proper in this part also: but I have been at a loss to imagine any that may not be construed into an infringement of the sacred liberty of the press. At length, however, I think I have found one, that instead of diminishing general liberty, shall augment it; which is, by restoring to the people a species of liberty, of which they have been deprived by our laws—I mean the liberty of the cudgel! In the rude state of society, prior to the existence of laws, if one man gave another ill language, the affronted person might return it by a box on the ear; and, if repeated, by a good drubbing; and this without offending against any law: but now the right of making such returns is denied, and they are punished as breaches of the peace, while the right of abusing seems to remain in full force, the laws made against it being rendered ineffectual by the liberty of the press.

My proposal then is, to leave the liberty of the press untouched, to be exercised in its full extent, force and vigour, but to permit the liberty of the cudgel to go with it, *pari passu*. Thus, my fellow-citizens, if an impudent writer attack your reputation—dearer perhaps to you than your

life, and puts his name to the charge, you may go to him openly, and break his head. If he conceal himself behind the printer, and you can nevertheless discover who he is, you may, in like manner, way-lay him in the night, attack him behind, and give him a good drubbing. If your adversary hire better writers than himself to abuse you more effectually, you may hire as many porters, stronger than yourself, to assist you in giving him a more effectual drubbing. Thus far goes my project as to *private* resentment and retribution; but if the public should ever happen to be affronted, as it ought to be, with the conduct of such writers, I would not advise proceeding immediately to these extremities, but that we should in moderation content ourselves with tarring and feathering, and tossing in a blanket.

If, however, it should be thought, that this proposal of mine may disturb the public peace, I would then humbly recommend to our legislators to take up the consideration of both liberties, that of the press, and that of the cudgel, and by an explicit law mark their extents and limits; and at the same time that they secure the person of a citizen from assaults, they would likewise provide for the security of his reputation.

No. 2.

ON LUXURY, IDLENESS, AND INDUSTRY.

From a Letter to Benjamin Vaughan, Esq. written in 1784.*

It is wonderful how preposterously the affairs of this world are managed. Naturally one would imagine, that the interest of a few individuals should give way to general interest; but individuals manage their affairs with so much more application, industry, and address, than the public do theirs, that general interest most commonly gives way to particular. We assemble parliaments and councils, to have the benefit of their collected wisdom; but we necessarily have, at the same time, the inconveniences of their collected passions, prejudices, and private interests. By the help of these, artful men overpower their wisdom, and dupe its possessors; and if we may judge by the acts, arrests, and edicts, all the

* Member of parliament for the borough of Calne, in Wiltshire, between whom and our author there subsisted a very close friendship.

world over, for regulating commerce, an assembly of great men is the greatest fool upon earth.

I have not yet, indeed, thought of a remedy for luxury. I am not sure that in a great state it is capable of a remedy, nor that the evil is in itself always so great as is represented. Suppose we include, in the definition of luxury, all unnecessary expense, and then let us consider whether laws to prevent such expense are possible to be executed in a great country, and whether, if they could be executed, our people generally would be happier, or even richer. Is not the hope of being one day able to purchase and enjoy luxuries a great spur to labour and industry? May not luxury, therefore, produce more than it consumes, if, without such labour, people would be, as they are naturally enough inclined to be, lazy and indolent. To this purpose I remember a circumstance. The skipper of a shallop, employed between Cape-May and Philadelphia, had done us some small service, for which he refused to be paid. My wife understanding that he had a daughter, sent her a present of a new-fashioned cap. Three years after, this skipper being at my house with an old farmer of Cape-May, his passenger, he mentioned the cap, and how much his daughter had been pleased with it. "But (said he) it proved a dear cap to our congregation."—"How so?"—"When my daughter appeared with it at meeting, it was so much admired, that all the girls resolved to get such caps from Philadelphia; and my wife and I computed that the whole could not have cost less than a hundred pounds."—"True (said the former), but you do not tell all the story. I think the cap was nevertheless an advantage to us; for it was the first thing that put our girls upon knitting worsted mittens for sale at Philadelphia, that they might have wherewithal to buy caps and ribbons there; and you know that that industry has continued, and is likely to continue and increase to a much greater value, and answer better purposes." Upon the whole, I was more reconciled to this little piece of luxury, since not only the girls were made happier by having fine caps, but the Philadelphians by the supply of warm mittens.

In our commercial towns upon the sea-coast, fortunes will occasionally be made. Some of those who grow rich will be prudent, live within bounds, and preserve what they have gained for their posterity; others, fond of shewing their wealth, will be extravagant, and ruin themselves. Laws cannot prevent this; and perhaps it is not always an evil to the public. A shilling spent idly by a fool may be picked up by a wiser person, who knows better what to do with it; it

is, therefore, not lost. A vain, silly fellow builds a fine house, furnishes it richly, lives in it expensively, and in a few years ruins himself; but the masons, carpenters, smiths, and other honest tradesmen, have been by his employ assisted in maintaining and raising their families; the farmer has been paid for his labour, and encouraged, and the estate is now in better hands. In some cases, indeed, certain modes of luxury may be a public evil, in the same manner as it is a private one. If there be a nation, for instance, that exports its beef and linen, to pay for the importation of claret and porter, while a great part of its people live upon potatoes, and wear no shirts; wherein does it differ from the sot, who lets his family starve, and sells his clothes to buy drink? Our American commerce is, I confess, a little in this way: we sell our victuals to the islands for rum and sugar—the substantial necessities of life for superfluities. But we have plenty, and live well nevertheless; though, by living soberer, we might be richer.

The vast quantity of forest land we have yet to clear, and put in order for cultivation, will for a long time keep the body of our nation laborious and frugal. Forming an opinion of our people and their manners by what is seen among the inhabitants of the sea-ports, is judging from an improper sample. The people of the trading towns may be rich and luxurious, while the country possesses all the virtues that tend to promote happiness and public prosperity. Those towns are not much regarded by the country; they are hardly considered as an essential part of the States; and the experience of the last war has shewn, that their being in the possession of the enemy did not necessarily draw on the subjection of the country, which bravely continued to maintain its freedom and independence notwithstanding.

It has been computed by some political arithmetician, that if every man and woman would work for four hours each day on something useful, that labour would produce sufficient to procure all the necessities and comforts of life; want and misery would be banished out of the world, and the rest of the twenty-four hours might be leisure and pleasure.

What occasions then so much want and misery? It is the employment of men and women in works that produce neither the necessities nor conveniences of life; who, with those who do nothing, consume necessities raised by the laborious. To explain this:—

The first elements of wealth are obtained by labour from the earth and waters. I have land, and raise corn. With this, if I feed a family that does nothing, my corn will be

consumed, and, at the end of the year, I shall be no richer than I was at the beginning. But if, while I feed them, I employ them, some in spinning, others in making bricks, &c., for building, the value of my corn will be arrested and remain with me, and at the end of the year we may all be better clothed and better lodged. And if, instead of employing a man I feed in making bricks, I employ him in fiddling for me, the corn he eats is gone, and no part of his manufacture remains to augment the wealth and convenience of the family. I shall, therefore, be the poorer for this fiddling man, unless the rest of my family work more, or eat less, to make up the deficiency he occasions.

Look round the world, and see the millions employed in doing nothing, or in something that amounts to nothing, when the necessities and conveniences of life are in question. What is the bulk of commerce, for which we fight and destroy each other, but the toil of millions for superfluities, to the great hazard and loss of many lives, by the constant dangers of the sea? How much labour is spent in building and fitting great ships, to go to China and Arabia for tea and coffee, to the West Indies for sugar, to America for tobacco? These things cannot be called the necessities of life, for our ancestors lived very comfortably without them.

A question may be asked—Could all these people now employed in raising, making, or carrying superfluities, be subsisted by raising necessities? I think they might. The world is large, and a great part of it still uncultivated. Many hundred millions of acres in Asia, Africa, and America, are still in a forest, and a great deal even in Europe. On a hundred acres of this forest, a man might become a substantial farmer; and a hundred thousand men employed in clearing each his hundred acres, would hardly brighten a spot large enough to be visible from the moon, unless with Herschel's telescope; so vast are the regions still in wood.

It is, however, some comfort to reflect that, upon the whole, the quantity of industry and prudence among mankind exceeds the quantity of idleness and folly.—Hence the increase of good buildings, farms cultivated, and populous cities filled with wealth, all over Europe, which a few ages since were only to be found on the coast of the Mediterranean; and this notwithstanding the mad wars continually raging, by which are often destroyed, in one year, the works of many years, peace. So that we hope the luxury of a few merchants on the coast will not be the ruin of America.

One reflection more, and I will end this long rambling letter. Almost all the parts of our bodies require some ex-

pense. The feet demand shoes ; the legs, stockings ; the rest of the body, clothing ; and the belly, a good deal of victuals. Our eyes, though exceedingly useful, ask, when reasonable, only the cheap assistance of spectacles, which would not much impair our finances. But the eyes of other people are the eyes that ruin us. If all but myself were blind, I should want neither fine clothes, houses, nor fine furniture.

No. 3.

OBSERVATIONS ON WAR.

By the original laws of nations, war and extirpation were the punishment of injury. Humanizing by degrees, it admitted slavery instead of death : a farther step was, the exchange of prisoners instead of slavery : another to respect more the property of private persons under conquest, and be content with acquired dominion. Why should not this law of nations go on improving ? Ages have intervened between its several steps ; but as knowledge of late increases rapidly, why should not those steps be quickened ? Why should it not be agreed to, as the future law of nations, that in any war hereafter, the following description of men should be undisturbed, have the protection of both sides, and be permitted to follow their employments in security ? *viz.*

1. Cultivators of the earth, because they labour for the subsistence of mankind.

2. Fishermen, for the same reason.

3. Merchants and traders in unarmed ships, who accommodate different nations by communicating and exchanging the necessities and conveniences of life.

4. Artists and mechanics, inhabiting and working in open towns.

It is hardly necessary to add, that the hospitals of enemies should be unmolested—they ought to be assisted. It is for the interest of humanity in general, that the occasions of war, and the inducements to it, should be diminished. If rapine be abolished, one of the encouragements to war is taken away ; and peace therefore more likely to continue and be lasting.

The practice of robbing merchants on the high seas—a remnant of the ancient piracy—though it may be accidentally beneficial to particular persons, is far from being profitable to all engaged in it, or to that nation that authorizes it. In

the beginning of a war some rich ships are surprised and taken. This encourages the first adventurers to fit out more armed vessels; and many others to do the same. But the enemy at the same time become more careful, arm their merchant ships better, and render them not so easy to be taken: they go also more under the protection of convoys. Thus while the privateers to take them are multiplied, the vessels subject to be taken, and the chances of profit, are diminished; so that many cruises are made wherein the expenses overgo the gains; and, as is the case in other lotteries, though particulars have got prizes, the mass of adventurers are losers, the whole expense of fitting out all the privateers during a war being much greater than the whole amount of goods taken.

Then there is the national loss of all the labour of so many men during the time they have been employed in robbing; who besides spend what they get in riot, drunkenness and debauchery; lose their habits of industry; are rarely fit for any sober business after a peace, and serve only to increase the number of highwaymen and housebreakers. Even the undertakers who have been fortunate, are by sudden wealth led into expensive living, the habit of which continues when the means of supporting it cease, and finally ruins them: a just punishment for their having wantonly and unfeelingly ruined many honest, innocent traders and their families, whose substance was employed in serving the common interest of mankind.

No. 4.

THE CRIMINAL LAWS AND THE PRACTICE OF PRIVATEERING.

Letter to Benjamin Vaughan, Esq.

March 14, 1785:

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AMONG the pamphlets you lately sent me was one, entitled, *Thoughts on Executive Justice*. In return for that, I send you a French one on the same subject, *Observations concernant l'Exécution de l'Article II. de la Déclaration sur le Vol*. They are both addressed to the judges, but written, as you will see, in a very different spirit. The English author is for hanging all thieves. The Frenchman is for proportioning punishments to offences.

If we really believe, as we profess to believe, that the law of Moses was the law of God, the dictate of Divine wisdom, infinitely superior to human—on what principles do we ordain death as the punishment of an offence, which, according to that law, was only to be punished by a restitution of fourfold? To put a man to death for an offence which does not deserve death, is it not a murder? And as the French writer says, *Doit-on punir un délit contre la société par un crime contre la nature!*

Superfluous property is the creature of society. Simple and mild laws were sufficient to guard the property that was merely necessary. The savage's bow, his hatchet, and his coat of skins, were sufficiently secured, without law, by the fear of personal resentment and retaliation. When, by virtue of the first laws, part of the society accumulated wealth and grew powerful, they enacted others more severe, and would protect their property at the expense of humanity. This was abusing their power, and commencing a tyranny. If a savage, before he entered into society, had been told—“Your neighbour, by this means, may become owner of a hundred deer; but if your brother, or your son, or yourself, having no deer of your own, and being hungry, should kill one, an infamous death must be the consequence,” he would probably have preferred his liberty, and his common right of killing any deer, to all the advantages of society that might be proposed to him.

That it is better a hundred guilty persons should escape, than that one innocent person should suffer, is a maxim that has been long and generally approved; never, that I know of, controverted. Even the sanguinary author of the *Thoughts* agrees to it, adding well, “that the very thought of *injured* innocence, and much more that of *suffering* innocence, must awaken all our tenderest and most compassionate feelings, and at the same time raise our highest indignation against the instrument of it. But,” he adds, “there is no danger of *either* from a strict adherence to the laws.”—Really!—is it then impossible to make an unjust law; and if the law itself be unjust, may it not be the very “instrument” which ought “to raise the author's and every body's highest indignation?” I see in the last newspapers from London, that a woman is capitally convicted at the Old Bailey, for privately stealing out of a shop some gauze, value fourteen shillings and threepence. Is there any proportion between the injury done by a theft, value fourteen shillings and threepence, and the punishment of a human creature, by death, on a gibbet?

Might not that woman, by her labour, have made the reparation ordained by God in paying fourfold? Is not all punishment inflicted beyond the merit of the offence, so much punishment of innocence? In this light, how vast is the annual quantity, of not only *injured* but *suffering* innocence, in almost all the civilized states in Europe?

But it seems to have been thought, that this kind of innocence may be punished by way of *preventing* crimes. I have read, indeed, of a cruel Turk, in Barbary, who, whenever he bought a new Christian slave, ordered him immediately to be hung up by the legs, and to receive a hundred blows of a cudgel on the soles of his feet, that the severe sense of the punishment, and fear of incurring it thereafter, might prevent the faults that should merit it. Our author himself would hardly approve of this Turk's conduct in the government of slaves; and yet he appears to recommend something like it for the government of English subjects, when he applauds the reply of Judge Burnet to the convict horse-stealer; who, being asked what he had to say why judgment of death should not pass against him, and answering, that it was hard to hang a man for *only* stealing a horse, was told by the judge, "Man, thou art not to be hanged *only* for stealing a horse, but that horses may not be stolen." The man's answer, if caudidly examined, will, I imagine, appear reasonable, as being founded on the eternal principle of justice and equity, that punishments should be proportioned to offences; and the judge's reply, brutal and unreasonable, though the writer "wishes all judges to carry it with them whenever they go the circuit, and to bear it in their minds, as containing a wise reason for all the penal statutes which they are called upon to put in execution. It at once illustrates," says he, "the true grounds and reasons of all capital punishments whatsoever, namely, that every man's property, as well as his life, may be held sacred and inviolate." Is there, then, no difference in value between property and life? If I think it right that the crime of murder should be punished with death, not only as an equal punishment of the crime, but to prevent other murders, does it follow, that I must approve of inflicting the same punishment for a little invasion on my property by theft? If I am not myself so barbarous, so bloody-minded, and revengeful, as to kill a fellow-creature for stealing from me fourteen shillings and threepence, how can I approve of a law that does it? Montesquieu, who was himself a judge, endeavours to impress other maxims. He must have known what humane judges feel on such occasions, and what are the

effects of those feelings ; and, so far from thinking that severe and excessive punishments prevent crimes, he asserts, as quoted by our French writer, that,

“ L'atrocité des loix en empêche l'exécution.

“ Lorsque la peine est sans mesure, on est souvent obligé de lui préférer l'impunité.

“ La cause de tous les relâchemens vient de l'impunité des crimes, et non de la modération des peines.”

It is said by those who know Europe generally, that there are more thefts committed and punished annually in England, than in all the other nations put together. If this be so, there must be a cause or causes for such a depravity in our common people. May not one be the deficiency of justice and morality in our national government, manifested in our oppressive conduct to subjects, and unjust wars on our neighbours ? View the long-persisted in, unjust, monopolizing treatment of Ireland, at length acknowledged ! View the plundering government exercised by our merchants in the Indies ; the confiscating war made upon the American colonies ; and, to say nothing of those upon France and Spain ; view the late war upon Holland, which was seen by impartial Europe in no other light than that of a war of rapine and pillage ; the hopes of an immense and easy prey being its only apparent, and probably its true and real, motive and encouragement. Justice is as strictly due between neighbour nations, as between neighbour citizens. A highwayman is as much a robber when he plunders in a gang, as when single ; and a nation that makes an unjust war is only a great gang. After employing your people in robbing the Dutch, is it strange, that, being put out of that employ by peace, they still continue robbing, and rob one another ? *Piraterie*, as the French call it, or privateering, is the universal bent of the English nation, at home and abroad, wherever settled. No less than seven hundred privateers were, it is said, commissioned in the last war ? These were fitted out by merchants, to prey upon other merchants, who had never done them any injury. Is there probably any one of those privateering merchants of London, who were so ready to rob the merchants of Amsterdam, that would not as readily plunder another London merchant, of the next street, if he could do it with the same impunity ? The avidity, *alieni appetens*, is the same ; it is the fear alone of the gallows that makes the difference. How then can a nation, which among the honestest of its people, has so many thieves by inclination, and whose government encouraged and commissioned no less than seven

hundred gangs of robbers ; how can such a nation have the face to condemn the crime in individuals, and hang up twenty of them in a morning ! It naturally puts one in mind of a Newgate anecdote. One of the prisoners complained, that in the night, somebody had taken his buckles out of his shoes. "What the devil!" says another, "have we then *thieves* amongst us ? It must not be suffered. Let us search out the rogue, and pump him to death."

There is, however, one late instance of an English merchant who will not profit by such ill-gotten gain. He was, it seems, part owner of a ship, which the other owners thought fit to employ as a letter of marque, which took a number of French prizes. The booty being shared, he has now an agent here inquiring, by an advertisement in the Gazette, for those who have suffered the loss, in order to make them, as far as in him lies, restitution. This conscientious man is a quaker. The Scotch presbyterians were formerly as tender ; for there is still extant an ordinance of the town-council of Edinburgh, made soon after the Reformation, "forbidding the purchase of prize goods, under pain of losing the freedom of the burgh for ever, with other punishment at the will of the magistrate ; the practice of making prizes being contrary to good conscience, and the rule of treating Christian brethren as we would wish to be treated ; and such goods *are not to be sold by any godly man within this burgh.*" The race of these godly men in Scotland are probably extinct, or their principles abandoned, since, as far as that nation had a hand in promoting the war against the colonies, prizes and confiscations are believed to have been a considerable motive.

It has been for some time a generally-received opinion, that a military man is not to inquire whether a war be just or unjust ; he is to execute his orders. All princes, who are disposed to become tyrants, must probably approve of this opinion, and be willing to establish it ; but is it not a dangerous one ? since, on that principle, if the tyrant command his army to attack and destroy not only an unoffending neighbour nation, but even his own subjects, the army is bound to obey. A negro slave, in our colonies, being commanded by his master to rob or murder a neighbour, or do any other immoral act, may refuse ; and the magistrates will protect him in his refusal. The slavery then of a soldier is worse than that of a negro ? A conscientious officer, if not restrained by the apprehension of its being imputed to another cause, may indeed resign, rather than be employed in an unjust war ; but the private men are slaves for life ; and they are, perhaps,

incapable of judging for themselves. We can only lament their fate, and still more that of a sailor, who is often dragged by force from his honest occupation, and compelled to imbrue his hands in perhaps innocent blood. But, methinks, it well behoves merchants (men more enlightened by their education, and perfectly free from any such force or obligation) to consider well of the justice of a war, before they voluntarily engage a gang of ruffians to attack their fellow-merchants of a neighbouring nation, to plunder them of their property, and perhaps ruin them and their families, if they yield it; or to wound, maim, and murder them, if they endeavour to defend it. Yet these things are done by Christian merchants, whether a war be just or unjust; and it can hardly be just on both sides. They are done by English and American merchants, who, nevertheless, complain of private theft, and hang by dozens the thieves they have taught by their own example.

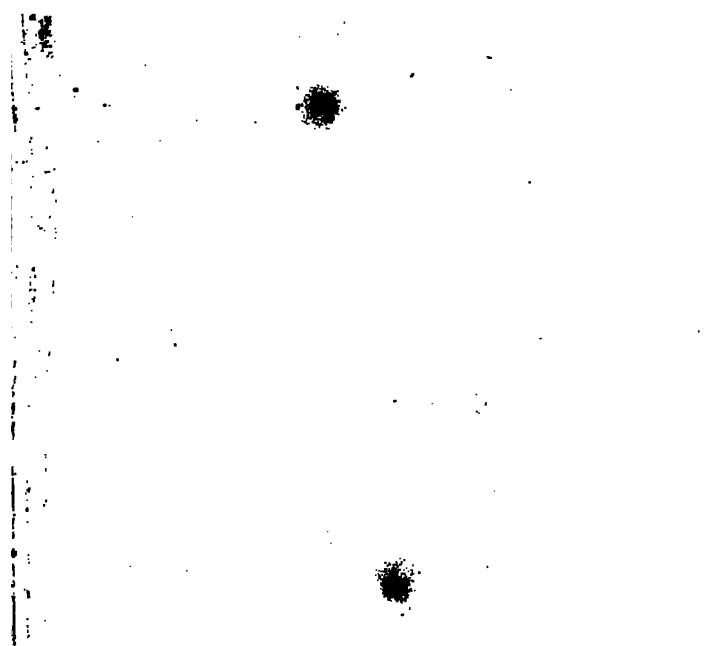
It is high time, for the sake of humanity, that a stop were put to this enormity. The United States of America, though better situated than any European nation to make profit by privateering (most of the trade of Europe with the West Indies passing before their doors) are, as far as in them lies, endeavouring to abolish the practice, by offering, in all their treaties with other powers an article, engaging solemnly, that, in case of future war, no privateer shall be commissioned on either side; and that unarmed merchants' ships, on both sides, shall pursue their voyages unmolested*. This will be a happy improvement of the law of nations. The humane and the just cannot but wish general success to the proposition.

With unchangeable esteem and affection,

I am, my dear friend,

Ever yours.

* This offer was accepted by the late King of Prussia, and a treaty of amity and commerce was concluded between that monarch and the United States accordingly.









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